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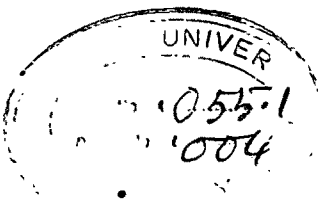
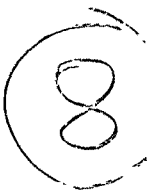


Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

Volume XVI

1934-35



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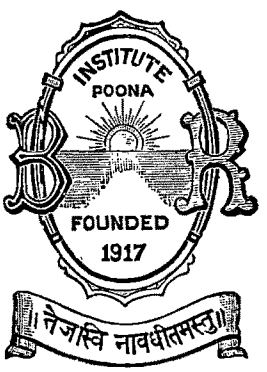

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INDEX TO AUTHORS

VOLUME XVI

1934—35

ARTICLES		PAGES
1	Dr. S. K. De, M. A., D. Litt. A Note on the Text of Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta ...	173–188
2	A. S. Gadre, M. A. Ondūru Copperplate Grant of Emperor Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagara of 1456 A. D. ...	12–25
3	A. M. Ghatage, M. A. Narrative Literature in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī ...	26–43
4	P. K. Gode, M. A. Harikavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa a Court-Poet of King Sambhāji and his Works ...	262–291
5	Rajendra Chandra Hazra, M. A. Influence of Tantra on the Smṛti-Nibandhas...	202-211
6	मान्यवर श्रीयुत राजगुरु हेमराजपण्डित, नेपाल महाभारतसंबन्धे कश्चन विचारः ...	212–231
7	P. Srinivasa Iyer Practice and Theory of Music ...	121–128
8	Prof. Hiralal Jain, M. A., LL. B. Some fresh light on the Dhārāśiva caves and the origin of the Śilāhāra Dynasty ...	1–11
9	Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M. A. The Jaina Commentaries ...	292–312
10	Dr. S. M. Katre, M. A., Ph. D. Treatment of Ṛ in Pali ...	189–201
11	Pt. R. S. Venkatarama Śāstri, M. A. Verbal Synthesis—A Mīmāṁsā-Gift ...	114-120
12	Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D. Epic Studies IV. More Critical Notes ...	90–113
13	Prof. H. D. Velankar, M. A. Kavidarpaṇam (A Prākṛta Treatise on Metres) ...	44–89
14	A. Venkatasubbiah Syntax of Vedic Compraisons by Abel Bergaigne Translated into English ...	232–261

MISCELLANEA

15 Dr. S. K. De, M. A., D. Litt.
On Kundamālā ... 158

16 P. K. Gode, M. A.
Notes on Indian Chronology
(i) Date of Kedārabhaṭṭa's Vṛttaratnākara before A. D. 1297
(ii) Jinasamudrasūri author of a Commentary on the Kumārasambhava and his exact Date : Born Saṁvat 1506 (A. D. 1450) and died *Saṁvat* 1555 (A. D. 1499)
(iii) The Terminus ad quem for the Date of Bhānudatta, the author of the Rasamañjarī
(iv) Date of Sārāvalī of Kalyāṇavarman between A. D. 550 and A. D 966
(v) The Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi and its probable Date before A. D. 1200 ... 143-151
(vi) Rare Manuscripts of Subhūticandra's Commentary on the Amarakośa ... 313-314

17 Prof. D. R. Mankad, M. A.
Kaumudīmahotsava and Kālidāsa ... 155-157

18 V. Raghavan, B. A. (Hons.)
Literary Notes ... 129-142

19 B. N. Krishnamurti Śarma, M. A.
Anent the Underground Library of Śrī Madhvācārya at Kaṭṭatala ... 152-154

20 Prof. Dasharatha Sharma, M. A.
The Agnikula Myth ... 159

21 Dines Chandra Sircar, M. A.
Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I ... 160-163

REVIEWS

22 Prof. S. M. Datar, M. A., LL. M.
(i) The Vyavahāramayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha, Translated into English, by P. V. Kane, M. A., LL. M. and S. G. Patwardhan, B. A., B. Sc., LL. M., price Rs. 10 ... 165-166

(ii) Juristic Personality of Hindu Deities by S. C. Bagchi, LL. D., Principal, University Law College, Calcutta, published by the University of Calcutta (1933) ... 167-168

(iii) Hindhu Law, Fourth Edition 1931, by J. R. Gharpure, B. A., LL. B. (Hons.) Principal, Law College, Poona ... 169

23 P. K. Gode, M. A.

The Naiṣadha-Carita of Śrīharṣa : by K. K. Handiqui, M. A. (Oxon), Principal, Jorhat College, Jorhat (Assam) Punjab Oriental Series pub. by Motilal Banarasidas, Lahore ... 170-171

24 Prof. D. D. Kapadia, M. A., B. Sc.

Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavri Edited by J. C. Pavri, with a foreword by A. V. Williams Jackson. pp. xvi+503 London: Oxford University Press, 50s net ... 319

25 Dr. S. M. Katre, M. A., Ph. D.

A New Approach to the Vedas—an Essay in Translation and Exegesis, by Ananda K. Coomarswamy ; pp. x, 116 ; London, Luzac and Co., 1933 ... 320-321

26 H. P. Paranjpye, B. A.

Upavana—Vinoda Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta ... 322-323

27 Prof. D. V. Potdar, B. A.

Tuṇg Khungia Buranji or A History of Assam by Prof. S. K. Bhuyan, M. A., B. L. (Oxford University Press) ... 324-325

28 Prof. D. L. Sahasrabuddhe, M. Ag., M. Sc.

Some Materials for the Study of Agriculture and Agriculturists in Ancient India by Radharaman Gangopadhyay Published by N. C. Mukherjee and Co. Serampore ... 164

29 Dr. Har Dutt Sharma, M. A., Ph. D.
Ādarsha Sādhu—An Ideal Monk; by A. J. Sunvala, B. A., LL. B. with a Prefatory Note by Prof. F. W. Thomas and a Foreword by Porf. Sylvain Levi; Shri Vizay Dharmasuri Jain Granthamala, No. 12. Cambridge University Press, 1934, pp. i-xv, 1-185 ... 326

30 Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D.
The Mahābhārata, Analysis and Index by Edward P. Rice. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xvi+112 (Price Rs. 5.) ... 315-318

CONTENTS

VOLUME XVI

ARTICLES		PAGES
1	Some fresh light on the Dhārāśiva caves and the origin of the Śilāhāra Dynasty by Prof. Hiralal Jain, M. A., LL. B. ...	1-11
2	Ondūru Copperplate Grant of Emperor Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagara of 1456 A. D. by A. S. Gadre, M. A. ...	12-25
3	Narrative Literature in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī by A. M. Ghatage, M. A. ...	26-43
4	Kavidarpaṇam (A Prākṛta Treatise on Metres) by Prof. H. D. Velankar, M. A. ...	44-89
5	Epic Studies IV. More Text Critical Notes, by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D. ...	90-113
6	Verbal Synthesis—A Mīmāṁsā-Gift by Pt. R. S. Venkataraama Śāstri, M. A. ...	114-120
7	Practice and Theory of Music by P. Srinivasa Iyer ...	121-128
MISCELLANEA		
8	Literary Notes by V. Raghavan, B. A. (Hons.) ...	129-142
9	Notes on Indian Chronology by P. K. Gode, M. A. (XXVIII) Date of Kedārabhaṭṭa's Vṛttaratnākara before A. D. 1297 (XXIX) Jinasamudrasūri author of a Commentary on the Kumārasambhava and his Exact Date: Born *Saṁvat* 1506 (A. D. 1450) and died *Saṁvat* 1555 (A. D. 1499) (XXX) The Terminus ad quem for the Date of Bhānudatta, the author of the Rasamañjarī (XXXI) Date of Sārāvalī of Kalyāṇavarman between A. D. 550 and A. D. 966 (XXXXII) The Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi and its probable Date before A. D. 1200 ...	143-151
10	Anent the Underground Library of Śrī Madhvācārya at Kaṭṭatala by B. N. Krishnamurti Śarma, M. A. ...	152-154

11. Kaumudīmahotsava and Kālidāsa by Prof. D. R. Mankad, M. A. ... 155-157

12 On Kundamālā by Dr. S. K. De, M. A., D. Litt. ... 158

13 The Agnikula Myth by Prof. Dasharatha Sharma, M. A. 159

14 Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I. by Dines Chandra Sircar, M. A. ... 160-163

REVIEWS

15 Some Materials for the Study of Agriculture and Agriculturists in Ancient India by Radharaman Gangopadhyay published by N. C. Mukherjee and Co. Serampore, reviewed by Prof. D. L. Sahasrabuddhe, M. Ag., M. Sc. ... 164

16 The Vyavahāramayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha, Translated into English, by P. V. Kane, M. A., LL. M. and S. G. Patwardhan, B. A., B. Sc., LL. M., price Rs. 10, reviewed by Prof. S. M. Datar, M. A., LL. M. ... 165-166

17 Juristic Personality of Hindu Deities by S. C. Bagchi, LL. D., Principal, University Law College, Calcutta, published by the University of Calcutta (1933) reviewed by Prof. S. M. Datar, M. A., LL. M. ... 167-168

18 Hindu Law, Fourth Edition 1931, by J. R. Gharpure, B. A., LL. B. (Hons.) Principal, Law College, Poona, reviewed by Prof. S. M. Datar, M. A., LL. M. ... 169

19 The Naiṣadha-Carita of Śrīharṣa : by K. K. Handiqui, M. A. (Oxon), Principal, Jorhat College, Jorhat (Assam) Punjab Oriental Series pub. by Motilal Banarasidas, Lahore, reviewed by P. K. Gode, M. A. ... 170-171

ARTICLES

20 A Note on the Text of Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta by Dr. S. K. De, M. A., D. Litt. ... 173-188

21 Treatment of Ṛ in Pali by Dr. S. M. Katre, M. A., Ph. D. ... 189-201
22 Influence of Tantra on the Smṛti-Nibandhas by Rajendra Chandra Hazra, M. A. ... 202-211
23 महाभारतसंबन्धे कश्चन विचारः मान्यवर श्रीयुत राजगुरु हेमराज-पण्डित, नेपाल ... 212-231
24 Syntax of Vedic Compraisons by Abel Bergaigne Translated into English by A. Venkata-subbiah ... 232-261
25 Harikavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa a Court-Poet of King Sambhāji and his Works : by P. K. Gode, M. A. ... 262-291
26 The Jaina Commentaries by Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M. A. ... 292-312

MISCELLANEA

27 Notes on Indian Chronology by P. K. Gode, M. A. (XXXIII) Rare Manuscripts of Subhūti-candra's Commentary on the Amarakośa ... 313-314

REVIEWS

28 The Mahābhārata, Analysis and Index by Edward P. Rice. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xvi+112. (Price Rs. 5.), reviewed by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D. ... 315-318
29 Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavri Edited by J. C. Pavri, with a foreword by A. V. Williams Jackson. pp. xvi+503 London: Oxford University Press, 1933, 50s net, reviewed by Prof. D. D. Kapadia. M. A., B. Sc. ... 319
30 A New Approach to the Vedas—an Essay in Translation and Exegesis, by Ananda K. Coomarswamy; pp. x, 116; London, Luzac and Co., 1933, reviewed by Dr. S. M. Katre, M. A., Ph. D. ... 320-321
31 Upavana—Vinoda Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, reviewed by H. P. Paranjpye, B. A. ... 322-323

32 Tung Khungia Buranji or A History of Assam by Prof. S. K. Bhuyan, M. A., B.L. (Oxford University Press), reviewed by Prof. D. V. Potdar, B. A. ... 324-325

33 Ādarsha Sādhu—An Ideal Monk; by A. J. Sunvala, B. A., LL. B. with a Prefatory Note by Prof. F. W. Thomas and a Foreword by Prof. Sylvain Levi; Shri Vizay Dharmasuri Jain Granthamala, No. 12. Cambridge University Press, 1934, pp. i-xv, 1-185, reviewed by Dr. Har Dutt Sharma, M. A., Ph. D. ... 326

Volume XVI

1934-35

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

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SOME FRESH LIGHT ON THE DHĀRĀŚIVA CAVES AND THE ORIGIN OF THE ŚILĀHĀRA DYNASTY

BY

PROF. HIRALAL JAIN, M. A., LL. B.

Dhārāśiva is the headquarters of a district in the Hyderabad State. It has recently been renamed as Osmanabad after the name of the present Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad, Osman Ali. About two miles north-east from the town, in a ravine facing the west, is a group of caves which have been noticed and described by Mr. James Burgess.[1] Of the seven caves, the four on the north side of the ravine are decidedly Jaina excavations. Nothing was so far known about the origin or the date of these caves. Mr. Burgess tentatively assigned them to about 650 A. D. adding that 'perhaps they belong to a somewhat earlier date.' A work has recently been discovered which throws some light upon the origin of the Jaina caves. This work is the Karakaṇḍa-Cariu written by Kanakāmara Muni in Apabhraṁśa, completed in ten saṁdhis or chapters.[2] The fourth and the fifth chapters contain information about the caves. The part of the story pertaining to this subject is as follows :—

1 Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. III.

2 The work was first discovered by the writer in 1924 from the Jaina manuscript stores at Karanja in the Akola district, Berar, and was noticed, with extracts, in the Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in C. P. and Berar, published in 1926. The work has since been edited with translation, introduction, glossary, notes and appendixes by the discoverer in the Kāranjā Jaina Series. As far as the available data go, the work seems to belong to the eleventh century A. D.

Karakaṇḍa was ruling at Campā in the Aṅga country. Having consolidated all his dominions, he once asked his minister whether there was any person who did not acknowledge his suzerainty. On being told that the Cola, the Cera, and the Pāṇḍya kings of the Drāviḍa country did not pay him homage, he sent an ambassador to those kings who dismissed him with scant courtesy. In wrath, Karakaṇḍa took a vow that either he would place his foot on their heads or renounce the kingdom. He then marched out with a vast army and reached Terāpura. Here he was visited by the local ruler named Śiva who told him about the existence of an old cave on the side of the adjoining hill. Karakaṇḍa visited this cave and found an image of Pārśvanātha in the cave. On the top of the hill, he discovered another image of Pārśvanātha buried in an ant-hill. This also he imported into that cave. He then discovered a spring of water which was so far blocked inside the cave. Before opening it up he excavated another cave. Karakaṇḍa felt curious to know who had excavated the first cave, and his curiosity was satisfied by a Vidyādhara who told him the story of its excavation as follows :—

In the southern Vedyardha there ruled two Vidyādhara brothers Nīla and Mahānīla. Being pressed by the enemies they fled and came to Terāpura where they made their home and gradually built a kingdom. They were subsequently converted to Jainism by a sage and they excavated the cave and installed the image of Pārśvanātha therein. The Vidyādhara also told Karakaṇḍa that the image which he found on the top of the hill was picked up by two other Vidyādharas from a Jain temple on the Pūdi hill in Malabār and was left on the Terāpura hill by them. Karakaṇḍa felt satisfied at this account, and excavated two more caves in the vicinity before proceeding on to Siṁhala and then, on return, conquering the Draviḍian kings of Cola, Cera and Pāṇḍya.

Now, I consider the caves mentioned by Kanakāmara as identical with the Jaina caves found existing at Dhārāśiva on the following grounds. Firstly, the Terāpura where Karakaṇḍa found the old cave is identical with the modern Tera, twelve miles to the north-east of Osmanabad. It was known to the ancients as Tagara, which name baffled the attempts of scholars at its identi-

fication for a long time. Some identified it with Devagiri and others with Junnar, while Sir R. G. Bhandarkar proposed Dharur in the Nizam's dominions as the site of the ancient city.[1] It was only in 1901 that Dr. Fleet suggested its correct identification with the modern Tera misspelt as Thair, Ther, Tair etc. in maps.[2] The name Tera seems to be more directly connected with Terāpura.

Secondly, the situation of the caves as described by Kanakāmara tallies with that of the existing caves. The poet says that Karakaṇḍa started from the south of Terāpura where he was encamping and found the caves towards the west, on the side of a hill at some distance. He also speaks of a lake which abounded in lotuses. Now, the existing Tera is twelve miles to the north-east of Dhārāśiva, the old site of the town being divided into fourteen *wadis* or small villages, and the caves are a few miles to the south-west in the ravine of a hill. Near the caves is still to be found a lake which though now wanting in lotuses, is still reputed in the public to have once abounded in lotuses.

Thirdly, the principal cave contains an image of Pārśvanātha as described by the author, who speaks of the cave as a large one having a thousand pillars (*Sahasa-khambha*) which should be taken to mean nothing more than having too many pillars to be counted at a glance. Below is reproduced the description of only the main hall of the principal cave of the group, as given by Mr. Burgess, in order to convey an idea of the extensive scale on which the cave has been designed—

"The great śālā or hall of the cave is not quite square, being wider at the back than in front, the former width being 95 feet, the latter only 79 feet, while the depth is about 80 feet. In this area are thirty-two pillars, arranged in two concentric squares. The inner square has 12 pillars and encloses an area 23 ft. 9 inch. square, and 10 ft. 2 inch. high. The outer, about $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the walls has twenty pillars and encloses an area about 55 ft. deep by 58 wide, leaving an aisle round the central square about 13 ft. wide in front and back, while along the sides it is 14 ft. wide. The roofs of the aisles on each side of this outer square vary in height

[1] Early History of the Deccan by R. G. Bhandarkar, Poona 1927, p. 59.
[2] Imperial Gazetteer Vol. II 1908, p. 82; J. R, A. S., 1901, pp. 537ff.

with a tendency to increase towards the back, the aisle being 12½ ft. high, and the one in front of it 11 ft. 7 inch. at the back and slightly less in front while the side aisles are about 10 ft. 4 inch. in height. In each side wall are eight cells, each about 9 ft. square and in the back are six three on each side of the shrine, which occupies the centre. The cells are all plain and exactly of the character of those usually found in Bauddha caves. In the floor of the cell(k) in the north-west corner, is a small hole in the floor which is constantly filled with water and may possibly have some connection with the cistern" etc.

Kanakāmara says that when Karakaṇḍa observed minutely the shrine he found a knot at the seat of the Jina. On inquiry he learnt from an old artisan of the place that it was meant to stop a fountain of water which had sprung up there. Karakaṇḍa felt curious and caused the fountain head to be opened up. From it water gushed forth and filled the whole cave. It was later on brought under control by the help of a Vidyādhara. Now, at the principal cave there is a cistern close to a chamber containing images of Pārśvanātha. In its floor there are two openings connected with the cistern. I consider this chamber to have been the old sanctuary where Karakaṇḍa discovered the fountain. As described above, there is yet another cell attached to the hall which has a hole in the floor constanly filled with water.

The last point in favour of the identification is that the caves are still popularly known amongst the Jainas as Karakaṇḍu's caves.

The question now arises, who were the excavators of the ancient cave? While investigating whether any historical basis could be found for the origin of the cave as given by Kanakāmara, I came upon the following information about the Śilāhāra princes—

"The Śilāhāra princes trace their origin to Jīmūtavāhana, the son of Jīmūtaketu who was the king of a certain class of demigods called Vidyādharas, and who saved the life of a serpent named Śaṅkhacūḍa by offering himself as a victim to Garuḍa in his place. One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was '*Tagarapura-varādādhīśvara*' or, lords of Tagara the best of cities,' which fact has a historical significance. It shows

that the Śilāhāras belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara. In one Śilāhāra grant it is expressly stated that the race known by the name of Śilāhāra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara (*Śilāhārākhya-vaṁśoyam Tagareśvara-bhūbhṛtām*). As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian era, and retained its importance till a very late period, but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the Śilāhāra kingdom with Tagara as its capital. Perhaps it existed between the close of the Āndhrabhṛtya period and the foundation of the Cālukya power." [1]

From this account two facts emerge very prominently, firstly, that the Śilāhāra princes were the descendants of a Vidyādhara and, secondly, that they once had their capital at Tagara which has, since Sir R. G. Bhandarkar wrote the above account, been identified with Terāpura or Tera near modern Osmanabad. These facts have been emphasized in almost all the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras. In the Śilāhāra grant of Narasiṁha dated Śaka 980, for example, we read — श्री शिलारवंशातिलको **जीमूतान्वयप्रस्तारप्रभवः** सुवर्णगरुडव्यालोललीलाध्वजो विस्तीर्णार्णवमेखलावनिवधूकान्तो महीमण्डलप्रस्तुत्यो मलेयङ्कसर्व्वनृपतिः श्रीराज**विद्याधर**: अरिभूभृच्चक्रवक्रस्तगरनगरभूपालकस्तीर्व-तेजाः स्थिरवाक्यः ..... etc.

This also proves the same conclusion.

The next question that arises is how and when did the Vidyādhara ancestors of the Śilāhāras come to rule at Tagara? This question occurred to Sir Bhandarkar and it has not yet been solved. According to Kanakāmara, two Vidyādhara brothers Nīla and Mahānīla came to Terāpura from the Southern Vedyardha. Somadeva, in his Kathā-sarit-sāgara locates the Vedyardhas as follows:- There are two Vedyardhas of Vidyādharas on the Himālayas, the northern and the southern, the former on the upper side of the Kailāsa and the latter on the lower side. [2] Thus, the

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[1] Early History of the Deccan by R. G. Bhandarkar, Poona 1927, p. 169.

[2] कथासरित्सागर XIV, 3, 65-66.

इह विद्याधराणां द्वौ वेद्यधौ स्तो हिमाचले ।
उत्तरो दक्षिणश्चैव नाना तच्छृङ्गभूमिगौ ।
परतः किल कैलासादुत्तरोऽर्वाक्तु दक्षिणः ॥

two Vidyādhara brothers may be said to have come to Tagara or Terāpura from the southern range of the Himālayas. Kanakāmara tells us that they had to leave their ancestral home in the Vedyardha on account of the pressure of the enemies. On this point also the Kathā-sarit-sāgara throws some light. In lambaka fourteenth of that work we have an account of a protracted war between Naravāhanadatta, the king of the Vatsas, and the Vidyādharas of the Southern Vedyardha, in which the latter were completely vanquished and the former was crowned king. It might be this pressure of the enemies that drove away Nīla and Mahānīla to the south. We also find Jīmūtavāhana the ancestor of the Śilāhāras mentioned in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, as the king of Vidyādharas who lost his suzerainty because he bēlauded his charity and sacrifice.[1] The existence of a ruling dynasty of Vidyādharas to the south of the Nerbudda is vouchsafed by Padmagupta in his Nava-sāhasāṅka-carita where his contemporary hero Sindhurāja is said to have been helped by Vidyādhara chief Śaśikhaṇḍa the son of Śikhaṇḍaketu, against the Asura king Vajrāṅkuśa of Ratnavatī.[2]

All this evidence leads me to conclude that Nīla and Mahānīla the two Vidyādharas who migrated from the Himālayas to Terāpura were the ancestors of the Śilāhāra princes and that they or their early descendants, having become converts to Jainism, excavated the principal cave at Terāpura. I may appear to be making history out of fables and fairy tales but the pieces of information culled here fit in so well with what we know from epigraphical records and literary tradition, that the temptation to recognize a historical basis in them is irresistible.

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1 Ibid XVI, 3, 7.

जीमूतवाहनोऽप्येष: पृष्टो विद्याधरेश्वर: ।
चक्रवर्तिपदप्राप्तिकारणं नारदर्षिणा ॥ ७ ॥
आचख्यौ कल्पवृक्षस्य दानं निजतनोस्तथा ।
तेनाभ्रश्यत्पदात्स्वस्मात्सुकृतोद्दीरणेन स: ॥ ८ ॥

2 The Indian Antiquary Vol. LXII, 1933 pp. 101-107 : Historical data in Padmagupta's Navasāhasāṅkacarita.

Now, what can be the time of the Vidyādhara settlement at Terāpura and the excavation of the ancient cave and subsequently of three more caves there? As Sir Bhandarkar has said, we have not found out any trace of the Śilāhāra kingdom with Tagara as its capital, within any known historical period. And yet it cannot now be denied that the Śilāhāras once ruled at Tagara. If Naravāhanadatta of the Vatsas is to be assigned any place in history it can only be done in the pre-Śeśunāga dynasty. Karakaṇḍa who is said to have found the cave existing in his time, belongs to a hierarchy of saints sufficiently ancient to be claimed both by the Jainas as well as the Bauddhas and, amongst the former, by both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara sects.[1] The Bauddhas say that he lived prior to their prophet Buddha,[2] in agreement with the Jainas who assign him to the *Tīrtha* of Pārśvanātha, that is, to the period following the Niravāṇa of Pārśvanātha and preceding the advent of Mahāvīra, which period falls approximately between 800 B. C. and 400 B. C. In the structure of the caves, particularly those portions of them which are ancient, there is nothing which may definitely point to a more recent date, while it is noteworthy that in all those cave temples no image of Mahāvīra is to be found. The period of Śilāhāra ascendancy at Tagara, as said above, also seems to be very remote. Though much emphasis cannot, at present, be laid on these evidences, they seem to point to a time about five centuries preceding the Christian era for the Śilāhāra supremacy at Tagara and the excavation of the caves.

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1 Jacobi's Ausgewahlte Erzahbungen in Mahārāṣṭrī, the story of Karakaṇḍu. Translation, in English, in J. J. Meyer's Hindu Tales, London, 1909. The writer of this article has discovered more than a dozen Jaina works, Digambara and Śvetāmbara, dealing with the Karakaṇḍa story, for which see introduction to Karakaṇḍacariu, Karanjā Jaina Series, Vol. IV.

2 Charapentier's Paccekabuddhageschichten, Upasala 1908. Dr. Charpentier has tried to find some Brahmanic recognition also of Karakaṇḍu but the attempt is not quite successful. For the Buddhist story see Kumbhakāra Jātaka, in Jātaka Vol. III.

APPENDIX

Extracts from Karakaṇḍacariu of Kanakāmara throwing light on the origin of the Jaina caves at Terāpura—

1

Karakaṇḍa, king of Campā, after unsuccessful negotiations, invades the South and reaches Terāpura.

करकंडहँ साहिवि महि सयल परिपुच्छिउ मइवरु विमलमइ ।
भणु सम्मइ मइवर को वि णरु जो अज्जु वि दुट्ठउ ण वि णमइ ॥
सो मइवरु पभणइ देवदेव । तुह महियलु सयलु वि करइ सेव ।
परि दिविडदेसे णिव अत्थि पिट्ठ । ते णमहिं ण कासु वि हियइं दुट्ठ ।
सिरि चोडि पंडि णामेण चेर । णउ करहिं तुहारी देव केर ।
आयण्णिवि तं चंपाहिवेण । संपेसिउ दूवउ तहो खणेण ।
तँ जाइवि ते चोडाइराय । इउ भणिय णवहु करकंडपाय ।
णिब्भत्थिउ दूवउ तेहिँ सो वि । जिणु मेल्लिवि अण्णु ण णवहुँ कोवि ।
करकंडहो आइवि कहिउ तेण । णउ कराहँ सव तुह किं परेण ।
तं सुणिवि वयणु करकंडु राउ । जइ देमि ण तहो सिरि णियपाउ ।
तो महियलपुत्तइंदियसुहासु । महो अत्थि णिवित्ति परिग्गहासु ।
एह पइज करिवि करकंडएण । तहु दिण्णु पयाणउ कुद्धएण ।
चंपाहिउ चल्लिउ तहो उवरि गय चडिवि विणिग्गउ पुरवरहो ।
चउरंगइं सेण्णइं संजुयउ सो लीला धरइ सुरेसरहो ॥ ४, १ ॥
तहो जंतहो महि हयखुरहिं भिण्ण । गयणंगणि गय रय धूमवण्ण ।
पसरंतहिं तेहिं दिगाणणाहं । णं सुहवडु किउ दिसिवारणाहं ।
महि हल्लिय चल्लियगिरिवरिंद । कंपंत पणट्ठा खे सुरिंद ।
दक्खिणवहे गउ तेरापुरम्मि । तहो तक्खिणदिसिहिँ महावणम्मि ।
आवासिउ तहिँ बलु चाउरंगु । खणे सीहपुलिंदहँ हुयउ भंगु ।
संताडिय दूसय पंचवण्ण । णं अमरगेह भूमिहिँ पवण्ण ।
गय करिवर लेविणु जलहो मेट्ठ । रासहियहिं धाविय खर पहिट्ठ
लोलाविय धय णिवणरवरेहिं । महि णच्चइ णं उब्भिकरेहिं ।
आवासिउ अच्छइ जाव तहिं करकंडणराहिउ पउरबलु ।
पडिहारु पराइउ तहो पुरउ दूराउ णमंतउ हरियमलु ॥ ४, २

2

Śiva, the ruler of Terāpura, waits upon Karakaṇḍa and tells him about the cave, which Karakaṇḍa then visits.

णिउ अत्थि देव तेरापुरम्मि । सिउ णामें रूढउ भूवलम्मि ।
सो तुम्हहँ पेक्खहुँ एत्थु आउ । किं आवइ किं सो वलिवि जाउ ।
करकंडें वयणु सुणेवि तासु । पडिहारु भणिउ तेराहिवासु ।
पइसारु खणद्धें तासु देहि । तुहुँ अप्पुणु जाएवि लेवि एहि ।
पडिहारें सो णिउ आणिओ वि । करकंडएँ पुणु सम्माणिओ वि ।
पुणु तेण पपुच्छिउ करिवि वाल । तुह कुसलु णरेसर सयलकाल ।
तें भणिउ णरेसर कुसलु मज्झु । जं सिंचिउ करुणजलेण तुज्झु ।
तहो वयणें करकंडहो णिवासु । तहो उवरि पवड्ढिउ णेहु तासु ।
अइपउरु पइण्णउ पुणु पसाउ । किउ दाणइँ वयणइँ साणुराउ ।
पुणु पुच्छिउ सिउ करकंडएण महो भाइय अक्खु पयत्तएण ।
जं दिट्ठउ किं पि मणोहरउ अच्छरिउ वणाम्मि भमंतएण ॥ ४, ३ ॥
तं वयणु सुणिवि तेराहिवेण । करकंडहो अक्खिउ पुणु सिवेण ।
एत्थत्थि देव पच्छिमदिसाहिं । अइणियडउ पव्वउ रम्मु ताहिं ।
तहिं अत्थि लयणु णयणावहारि । थम्हाण सहासहिं जं पि धारि ।
आयण्णिवि तं करकंडु राउ । गउ पव्वयसम्मुहुं सिवसहाउ ।
महिमहिलहे थणु व मणोहरउ कीलाघरु देवहं जो भरेण ।
करकंडइँ सो गिरि दिट्ठु खणे कइलासु णाइं भरहेसरेण ॥ ४, ४ ॥
थोवंतरि तहिं सो चडइ जाम । करकंडइं दिट्ठउ लयणु ताम ।
णं हरिणा अमरविमाणु दिट्ठु । करकंडु णराहिउ तहिं पइट्ठु ।
सो धण्णु सलक्खणु हरियदंभु । जें लयणु करावित सहसखंभु ।
पुणु दिट्ठउ तें जिणु वीयराउ । संथुणणहिं लग्गउ साणुराउ ॥ ४, ५ ॥

3

Karakaṇḍa finds out a knot which a sculptor tells him to be the mouth of a fountain which is then opened up.

ता तक्खणे तहो जिणे गइय दिट्ठि । हरिवीढहो उप्परि दिट्ठि गंठि ।
णं फलिहसिलहे हरिमणि विहाइ । उडुरायहो लग्गउ हरिणु णाइं ।
सा पेक्खवि मणे चिंतेइ राउ । गंठीए हयउ जिणबिंबराउ ।

जो सयलकम्मपरिकरणकारि । कोकाविउ सो तें सुत्तधारि ।
भो परममित्त अक्खहि पसत्थु । तुहुँ जाणहि सयलु वि कम्मसत्थु ।
तँ णिसुणिवि पभणइ पावहारि । पडिमागयरूवअणेयकारि ।
जिणपडिम घडिय जइयहुं णिवइ जलवाहिणि सिर तइयहो खणेण ।
मइं णिसुअउ दिट्ठु परपरए एह धरिय गंठि तें कारणेण ॥ ४, १२ ॥
जा राएं असुहाई गणिया । सिलवइणा टंकिएँ सा हणिया ।
गुरुघायवडणें णिग्गय फुलिंग । णं कोहवसइं आहिजलणालिंग ।
तहे गंठिहे वयणहो बहल फार । ता णिग्गय तक्खणि सलिलधार ।
पढमउ भुंभुक्कइ णिग्गमेइ । णं मेइणि भीएँ उव्वमेइ ।
णिग्गंती वाहिरि सा विहाइ । महि भिंदिवि फाणिवइधारिणि णाइ ।
परिसहइ सा वि भूमिहिँ मिलंति । गंगाणइ णं खलखलखलंति ।
पसरंतिएँ ताएँ खणेण भव्वु । तं भरियउ लयणु जलेण सव्वु ॥ ४, १४ ॥

4

On inquiry by Karakaṇḍa a Vidyādhara tells him how two Vidyādhara brothers Nīla and Mahānīla being oppressed by the enemy in their home in the Southern Vedyardha came to Terāpura, settled there, became converts to Jainism and excavated the cave.

करकंडें पुच्छिउ सो अमरु, भणु केण कराविउ इहु लयणु ।
वररयण विणिम्मिय कें पडिम, रंजियउ जाएँ महो तणउ मणु ॥
तं सुणेवि वाउवेउ । ता फणीकुमारु एउ ।
पुच्छियं पि जं णिवेण । तं कहेइ तक्खणेण ।
एत्थु जंबुदीवयम्मि । भारहम्मि खेत्तयम्मि ।
तत्थ अत्थि सोहमाणु । विज्जयड्ढु अप्पमाणु ।
खेयरेहिं रम्ममाणु । कुंजरेहिं गज्जमाणु ।
तासु तुंग बे वि अग्ग । सायरस्स जाइ लग्ग ।
जोयणदसहिं मि उप्परिण अत्थि सेणि दाहिणिय वर ।
विज्जाणाहहिं परियारिय अहिलसहिं जा वि देक्खेवि सुर ॥ ५, १ ॥
तहिं अत्थि णयरु खेयरवमालु । णामें रहणेउरु चक्कवालु ।
तहिं खेयर भायर अत्थि बे वि । णामेण णीलमहणील ते वि ।
ते अच्छहिं रज्जु करंत जाव । पडिपेल्लिय दोण्णि वि अरिहिं ताव ।

उद्दालिउ ताहँ वि विज्जयाउ । णिद्धाडिवि घल्लिय पट्टणाउ ।
सिरिपासजिणिंदहो तणइँ काले । सुरखेयरकिण्णर-रव-वमाले ।
अइदुम्मण दुक्खु वहंति भाय । सहि लंघिवि तेराणयरु आय ।
तहिं थाइवि कीयउ रज्जु भव्वु । उवसाहिउ महियलु तेहिं सव्वु ।
कह पासजिणिंदहो दुरियणासि । सुय एक्कहिं दिणि मुणिवरहो पासि ।
सा सुणिवि मणोहर दुहमहिय परिओसें ते कंटइयतणु ।
थिय णिच्चल धम्मे दयसहिय जिणु झायहिं भत्तिए एयमणु ॥ ५, २ ॥
अणुराएं तेहिं मि भायरेहिं । पुणु लयणु करावित खेयरेहिं ।
थंभाण सहासहिं णिम्मवीउ । अब्भंतरु सुंदरु कारवीउ ।
मणिरयणहिं मणिणिम्मावियाहं । किउ ठाउ तेहिं जिणपडिमयाहं ।
अणवरउ ण्हाणपूया करंत । थिय बहुयकाल जिणु अणुसरंत ।
तहिं वड्ढिय अणुदिणु मणहरिय । णाणाविह महिमा खेयरीय ।
एहु पव्वउ वेढ्ढिउ खेयरेहिं । णं मेरु महागिरि सुरवरेहिं ।
सा सोहा पेक्खवि सुरगणेस । ठिय विंभियमण तहिं णिरवसेस ॥ ५,३ ॥

5

The Vidyādhara advises Karakaṇḍa to excavate one more cave at which the latter excavated two more caves.

भो णरवइ जं पइँ पुच्छियउ । मइं सयलु वि तं तुह अक्खियउ ।
पइँ सुंदरु कीयउ महो मणिउ । जं लयणु णरेसर पइं चिणिउ ।
तम्हा तुहुं एवहिं इउ सराहि । लयणोवरि अवरु लयणु करहि ।
इउ भणिवि पयत्तें णिववरहो । गउ सुरवरु लीलइँ णियघरहो ।
लयणोवरि करकंडें लयणु । कारावित जिणवर-वर-भवणु ।
तहो उप्परि पुणु खुद्दयलयणु । अइमणहरु कारिउ हयमयणु ।
तिहुं लयणहो सोहा वहइ कह । सुरणाहघरहँ अणुहरइँ जह ।
णिउ कारिवि ताइँ जिणमंदिरइँ । सइं पूजिवि अंचिवि मणहरइँ ।
अइतोसु वहंतउ हियएँ बहु । आवासहो गउ पुणु धारिणि-पहु ॥ ५, १३ ॥

ONḌŪRU COPPERPLATE GRANT OF EMPEROR MALLIKĀRJUNA OF VIJAYANAGARA OF 1456 A. D.

BY

A. S. GADRE, M. A.,

Watson Museum, Rajkot

These plates which are in a very good state of preservation are three in number. They were found by the Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J., in 1927, during his tour in Southern India. I deciphered and translated them for him in 1928. Rev. Heras was kind enough to send me excellent photographs and to permit me to read a paper on the same at the VIIth Indian Oriental Conference at Baroda, 1933. I submitted my paper on it to the conference which was accepted. Due to my ignorance of Kanarese, many points of doubt had remained and I requested Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, the Government Epigraphist for India, to help me to solve them. Dr. Chakravarty was kind enough to secure a note from Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, his assistant, on all the doubtful points .... especially ll. 40-48 and 63-85 (the Kanarese portion); and in addition he has suggested a good many better readings of the Text. I am very much obliged to both of them for this help. [I shall indicate in this article all that I owe to Mr. Rao, by making the asterisk *. LNR., also in the foot-notes or in the article, is used for acknowledging Mr. Rao's help.]

These plates measure roughly 10 " x 6. 5." They have an Arch-like shape at the top. They are fairly thick, their edges being slightly raised to preserve writing. They are almost smooth, the engraving being rather shallow, the letters do not show through the plates on the reverse side at all. The letters show the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tools. The grant is engraved on one side of the first and the third plates and on both sides of the second. The plates are pierced by a circular hole in order to receive the ring and seal, which are attached. The ends of the ring are, as in many other cases, soldered on the back of

the seal, which, in the present case, is circular in shape and bears the Elephant Device of Mallikārjuna. The seal has a raised rim, and inside this there is shown in relief the figure of an elephant facing left. Each engraved side contains about 24 lines, all containing 96 lines in all. There are isolated letters worn away and so partly illegible. Else the record is in a perfect state of preservation and can be deciphered with much certainty. The introductory portion (11.1 to 36) and the concluding usual verses are to be found in two other records edited in the Epigraphia Carnatica (vol. VIII). They have greatly helped me to settle the text of a few obscure points.

The *characters* belong to the Nanda-Nāgarī variety much in use in Southern India in the 13th and 14th centuries. The following letters deserve notice :— इ (i) in ' ivāparaḥ ' (1.18) and in ' iti prathitaḥ ' (1. 25). In line 96 we get ' Virūpākṣaḥ ' in the Kanarese script..

The Orthography:—The following cases are worth our notice:-

(1) ' daḥtaḥ ' दः तः for ' dantaḥ ' दन्तः (1.5)

(2) ś श् for s स् in ' s'amśobhitaḥ ' (1.16)

(3) s स् for ś श् in saṁkarārtha (1.61)

(4) separation of conjunct consonants as in ' dada ' दद for- ' dda ' (द्द) (1.14)

(5) doubling of ' y (य्) coming after ' r ' (र) in ' Śauryyādibhiḥ ' (शौर्य्यादिभिः,) (1.93)

(6) shortening of long vowels in (i) ' palanīyo ' (पलनीयो) for ' pālanīyo ' (1.93); (ii) ' bhavinaḥ ' (भविनः) for ' bhāvinaḥ ' (भाविनः) (1.94); (iii) ' dhimān ' (धिमान्) for ' dhīmān ' (धीमान्) (1.86); (iv) ' bhuyo bhuyo ' (भुयो भुयो) for ' bhūyo bhūyo ' (भूयो भूयो) (1.94); (v) ' yacate ' for ' yācate ' (1.94).

Language : Lines 1 to 63 and 86 to 95 are in Sanskrit. Lines 64 to 85 are in Kanarese Prose. Of the Sanskrit portion, we get " Śrī Gaṇeśāya namaḥ " in 1.1 in prose ; the rest is in verse. We get a rather loose use of Sanskrit Grammar in some cases, e. g. ' śatavairi-rājāḥ ' in 1.10 ; ' svadattā vasuṁdharā ' for *Svadattāṁ* vasuṁdharām in 11.89, 90 ; ' ṣaṣṭirvarṣasahasrāṇi ' for ' ṣaṣṭiṁ varṣasahasrāṇi ' in lines 90, 91.

There are numerical figures for 1, 3, 6, 12, 17, (1) 88, 225, (5) 64, 204, 1378 in Kanarese.

Genealogy:—Saṁgama of the race of Yadu is recorded as the founder of the dynasty. He is said to have restored Karnāṭaka to a sound and firm rule (l. 8). The genealogy as obtained in this record is:– (1) Saṁgama, (2) Bukkarāya I, (3) Harihara II, (4) Devarāya I, (5) Vijayarāya, (6) Devarāya II, (7) Mallikārjuna. It is strange that no reference is made in these grants to the Muhamedan invasions of the south and the valiant efforts made by these kings of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara to stop their march. No reference is made in the grants of Mallikārjuna to Harihara I., who according to tradition founded Vijayanagara, possibly because Mallikārjuna was not a direct descendant of Harihara I. Mallikārjuna is given three names in this grant:– (1) Immaḍi Dēvarāya, (l. 26), (2) Immaḍi Praudha Dēvarāya in l. 59, and (3) Vīrapratāpa Praudha Dēvarāya, in. l. 67.

Property granted:—Originally[1] I had read in line 61 of the Sanskrit portion the name Sāṃbasuvarṇa and in the Kanarese portion in l. 82 Basavaṇa and had thought that there was discrepancy in the Sanskrit and Kanarese portions. Mr. Lakshmi Narayana Rao kindly pointed to me that the word is to read as Śrī Basavaṇṇa in the Sanskṛit portion also. Mr. Rao's revised translation of the lines 40 to 48 and 67 to 85 has clarified many doubts of mine.

Mallikārjuna granted, for 104 *mūḍes* of rice, required every year to feed 17 temple servants, at the rate of 17 hāne per day (one hāne per man per day), the village of Ondūru[2] in the Hadikhaṇḍa division of Honnāvara, in compliance with the request of Aṇṇappa Nāyaka, son of the Chieftain Cennappa Nāyaka.

Aṇṇappa Nāyaka requested the king to make a gift for a feeding house for the benefit of the 17 servants of the temple of Mahābaleśvara at Gokarṇa. The 17 servants were:– (1) one man who made offerings to the god and performed Rudrābhiṣeka,

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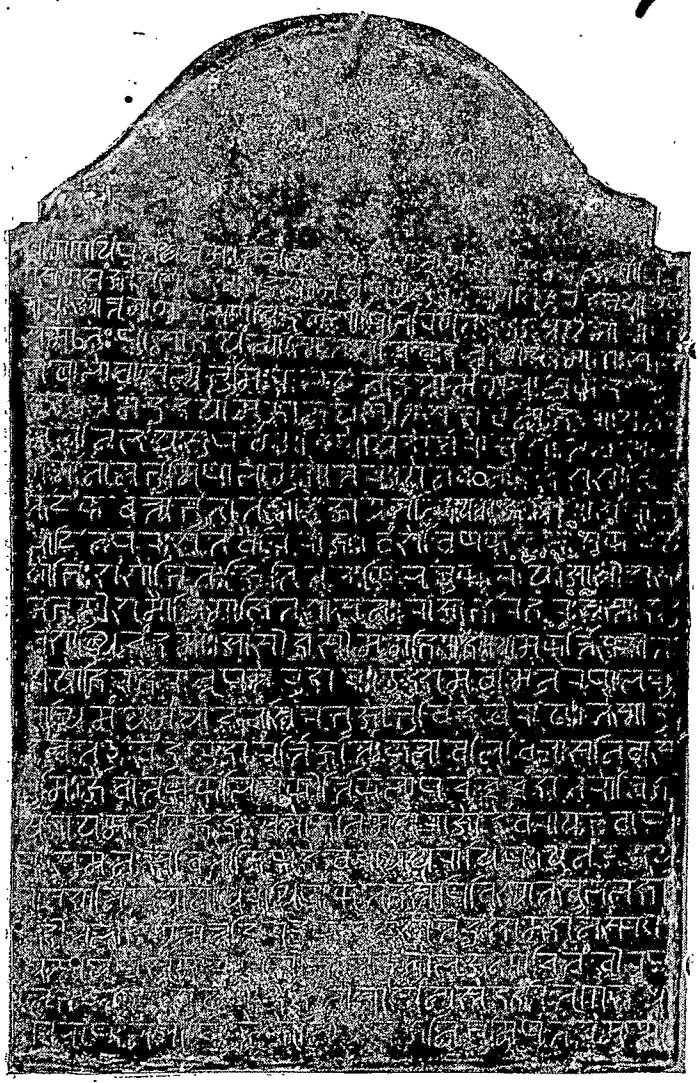
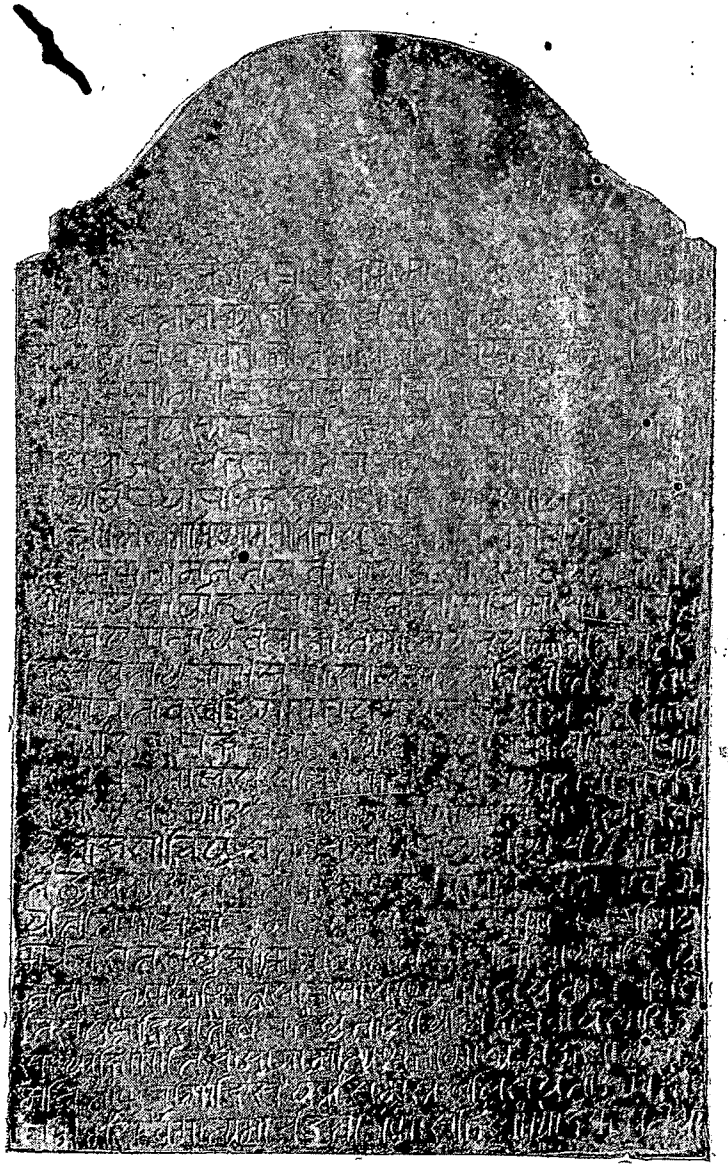
1 See Summaries of papers of the VIIth Indian Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1933, page 75.

2 Mr. F. K. Miranda of Honawar has sent the following note on Ondūru to Rev. H. Heras, S. J.:— "As far as I know Ondūru is shown in modern maps as Vandur. It is a few miles to the North of Honawar. Readings are 74° 30' and 14° 20' about. I am told that in Vandur there is a temple—very ancient looking—of god Śiva wearing a moonlike crown on his head. 'Candra' means the moon and 'mauli' means the crown and the temple is called the 'Candra-mauli' temple of Śiva."



Onderu Grant of Mallikarjuna. Plate i pp. 16–17.



Onduru Grant of Mallikarjuna. Plate ii a pp. 17–18.

(१८) -यरायमहीमहेंद्रः ।[1][2] ततोजनि महाराजो देवरायं[3] इवाप-
(१९) -रः । सुमनःसंवितो[4] जिष्णु देवरायो धराधिपः ।[5] धनंजयध
(२०) -नुविद्यां निषद्य[6] यो धराधिपः । कृतहस्तोपि विख्यात स्थूललक्षो
(२१) महीतले ।[7] दृप्यन्मत्तद्विरदकरटश्चोतदुददामदानस्फा-
(२२) यत्पार्थप्रसूमरमसी[8][9]जालजंबालजन्मा चित्रं वीरप्र-
(२३) -तिभटनृपप्रांशुवंशान्दहन्ती नास्यं[10] न्यस्ते[11] दहति तृणकं य-
(२४) -त्प्रतापानलार्चिः ।[12] तेजोनिधेरजनि भूमिपतेरमुष्मा-

Plate ii a

(२५) च्छ्रीमाल्लिकार्जुन[13] इति प्रथितः कुमारः । शौर्य्यादिभिर्गुणगणै-
(२६) -रधिकं च तातात्छंसंति यन्नृपतिर्मिम्माडि[14]देवरायं ।[15] धा-*
(२७) -नां[16] निजं वितरणं क्षितिरालवाला[17] सेकोदकं जलधेयं[18] छद-
(२८) -नानि मेघाः । तारां[19] प्रसूनममराद्रिरुपघ्नयष्टि[20]श्चन्द्रः फ
(२९) लं भवति यस्यं च कीर्त्तिवल्ल्याः ।[21] यस्य प्रतापानलजृंभमा-
(३०) -णे ज्वालाजटाले भुवनान्तराले । परं तपः प्रापदनुप्रवेशं
(३१) प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपति[22]ह्रदरीषु[23] ।[24] वदान्य येषोर्थिजनाय[25] दया-
(३२) -लुक्ष्मीमिव क्ष्मामिव मामपीति[।]भियेव यत्कीर्त्तिरुदारवेगा विगाह-
(३३) -ते तं ककुभामनंतं ।[26] स वीरो राजशार्दूल[27] सर्वधर्मकृतार्थ-
(३४) धीः । तोयै[28]र्सार्धाह्वतै पुण्यै[29] सुस्नातः सु[30]चिमानसः ।[31] धारित-
(३५) क्षौमयुगलो धवलाक्षतमाल्यधृत् । धर्मस्थानगतै[32] स-
(३६) द्भिः संयुतो धरणीसुरैः ।[33] शालिवाहननिर्नीत[34]शकवर्ष-
(३७) क्रमागते । वस्वद्रिगुणभूयुक्ते शकाब्दे *धातृवत्सरे ।[35] का-
(३८) र्त्तिक्यां शुक्लपक्षे च द्वादश्यां रविवारके । शोभते[36] पुण्य-
(३९) -काले चंद्रमौलेश्च संनिधौ ।[37] होन्नावरमहाराज्ये हृदि-

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1 Read महेन्द्रः; 2 Read ॥ ८ ॥; 3 Read देवराज इवा°; 4 Read °वितौ जिष्णुर्दे°; 5 Read ॥ ९ ॥; 6 Read निषद्य; 7 Read ॥ १० ॥; 8 Read °द्धाम'; 9 Read °पाथःप्र°; 10 LNR read प्रसूमरझरी; 11 Read नास्ये न्यस्त; 12 Read ॥ ११ ॥, 13 Read °मिम्मडि; 14 Read °रायम् ॥ १२ ॥; 15 Read धान्यं निजं LNR; 16 Read °लवालं; 17 Read °धयश्छद°; 18 Read ताराःप्र°; 19 Read °यष्टिश्चंद्रः; 20, 21 Read °वल्लचाः ॥ १३ ॥; 22 Read ह्रदरीषु; 23 Read ॥ १४ ॥ 24 Read एषोर्थि°; 25 Read °मनंतम् ॥ १५ ॥; 26 Read राजशार्दूलः; 27, 28, 29 Read तोयैः सार्धाह्वतैः पुण्यैः; 30 Read शुचिमानसः; 31 Read ॥१६॥ 32 Read °गतैः; 33 Read ॥ १७ ॥; 34 Read निर्णीत; 35 Read ॥ १८ ॥; 36 शोभने LNR; 37 Read ॥ १९ ॥.

(४०) -खंडाख्यवेंठगं ओंदूरुनामकं ग्रामं सर्वोपस्करसं-
(४१) -युतं ।[1] *अशीतियुक्शतानां च संषट्टानाष्टसंयुजां[2] । रम्य-
(४२) -कुलमूढानां प्रत्येकस्य क्रयेण तु ।[3] कृतहोत्रावरी-
(४३) -यत्रित्रिकाटीनां च मेलनात् । स षंटपणचतुर्षष्टियु[4]-
(४४) -*क्पंचशतसंयुजां[5] ।[6] कृतानां तत्र काटीनां सार्धकाद्विद्वये-
(४५) -न तु । प्रत्येकं कल्पिते श्चारुसार्धाष्टपणसंयुतैः ।[7] पंचविंश-
(४६) -तिसंयुक्तैं ।[8] द्विशते वरहै[9]र्युतं । निधिनिक्षेपवार्यश्मसिद्ध-
(४७) -सौध्याक्षिणीति च ।[11] आगामीत्यष्टभोगाढ्यं तेजस्वान्यैस[12]-
(४८) -मन्वितं[13] । कु[*ल्या]रामादिसंयुक्तं समस्तबलिसंयुतं[14] । अग्रहा-
(४९) -रमिमं सर्वमान्यमाचंद्रतारकं[15] । सहिरण्योदकदानधा[16]-

Plate ii b.

(५०) -रापूर्वं यथाविधि । गोकर्णतीर्थे संम्यकस्थ[17] महाबलेश्वर-
(५१) -स्य हि नैवेद्यायालिरम्याय नित्यरुद्राभिषेकके ।[18] प्र-
(५२) -कल्पाय च विप्राय वाशिष्टायाजुषे तथा । *भक्के माधवभ-
(५३) ट्टाय वेदशास्त्रांतगामिने ।[20] विप्राणां प्रत्यहं तत्र साधु-
(५४) स्तैत्र प्रवृत्तये । अंगरंगादिभोगाय मासनित्योत्सवाय
(५५) च ।[22] चंद्रमा इव क्षीराब्धौ *खडयं चेन्नतात्मजः । स्वामिद्रो-
(५६) हरगंडांकः स्वामिकार्य्यधुरंधरः ।[23] अण्णप्पनायको ध-
(५७) र्मी शिवपूजापरायणः । परोपकारकुशलो यश्च पु[24]-
(५८) ण्यप्रवर्धकात् ।[25] तस्य विज्ञापनादेव मुदा भक्त्या वि-
(५९) शेषतः । स प्रादादिम्मडिप्रौढदेवरा[26]य महीपतिः ।
(६०) अण्णप्पनायकं[27] सोपि तदेतद्धर्मवृ[28]त्तये विश्वामित्र प्रसिद्ध-
(६१) स्य ऋग्वेदे कुशलस्य च । श्रीबसवणपुत्रस्य[29]* संकरार्थ[30]

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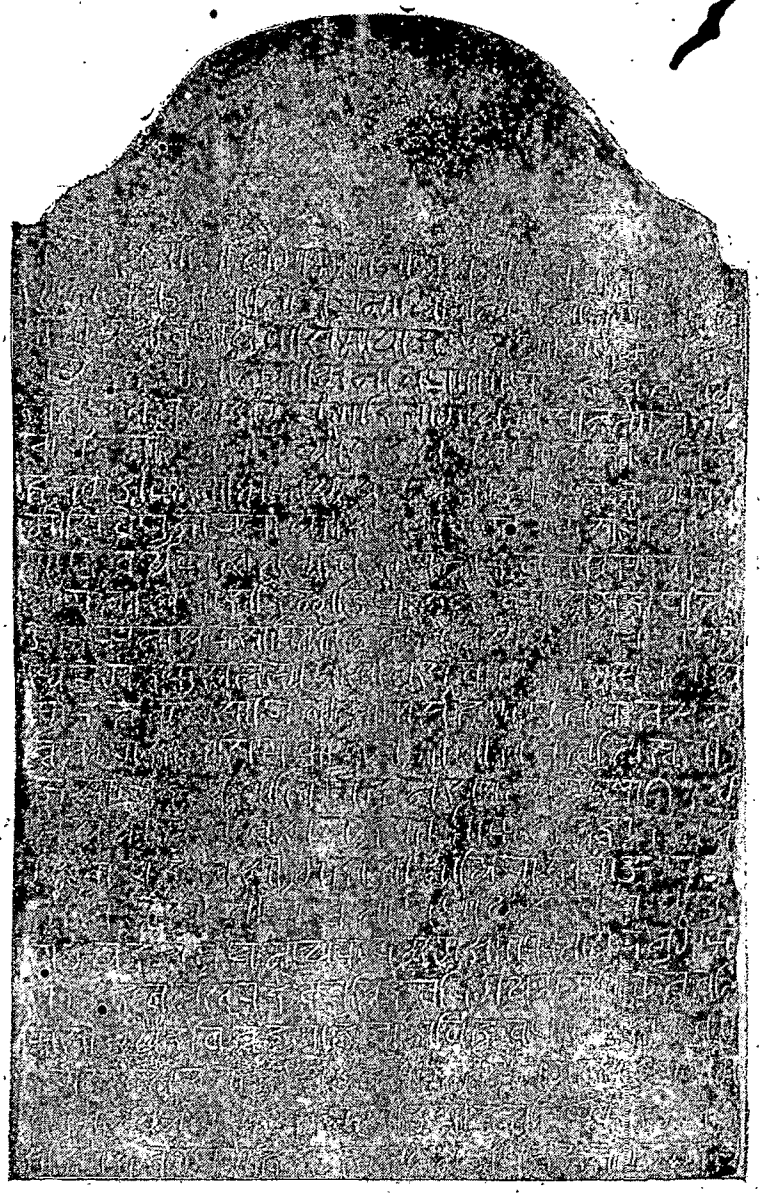
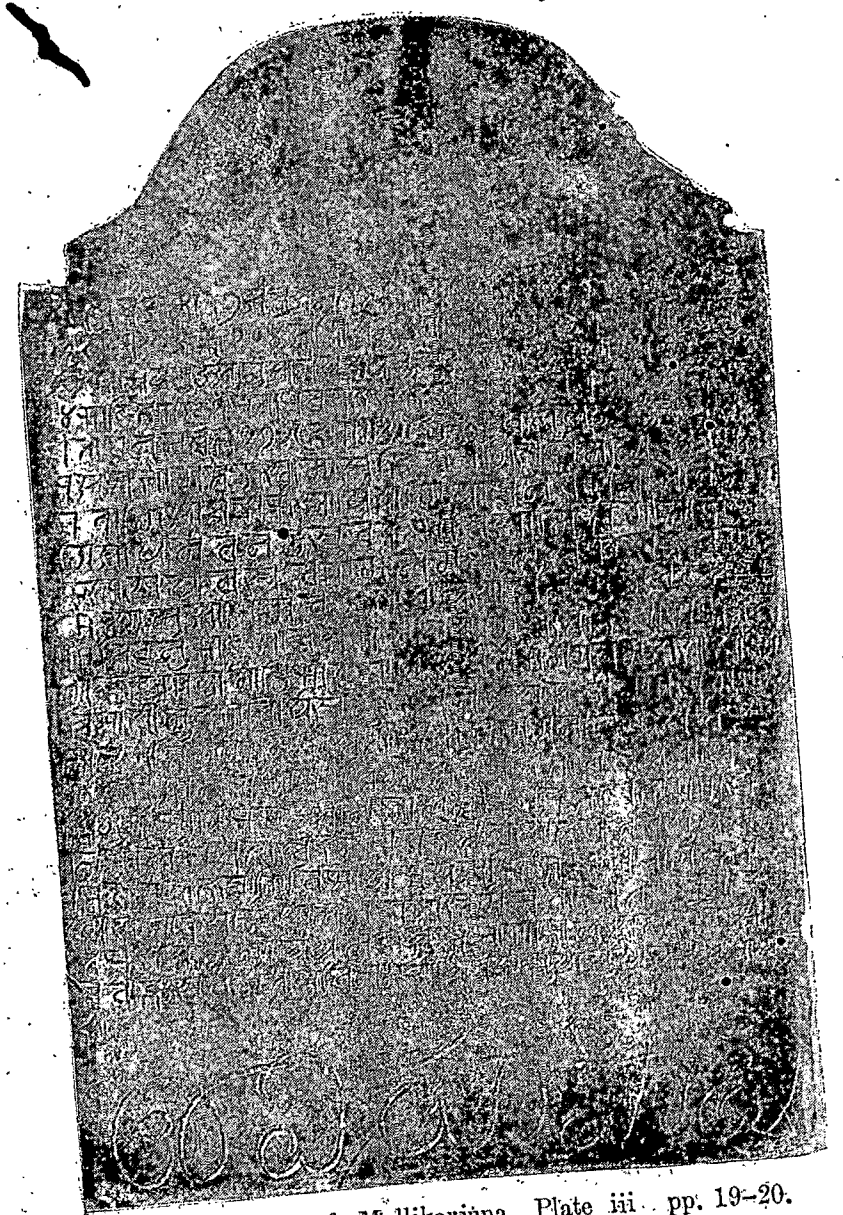
1 Read ॥ २० ॥ ; 2 I had originally read अशीतियुक्तकानां; 3 Read ॥ २२ ॥ ; 4, 5 Read षट्पणचतुःषष्टि°; 6 Read °संयुजाम् ॥ २२ ॥; 7 Read ॥ २३ ॥ ; 8 Read °संयुक्तै द्वि°; 9 Read °युतम् । 10 Read ॥ २४ ॥ ; 11 Read °साध्याक्षि°; 12 Read °तेजः-स्वाम्य°; 13 Read °समन्वितम् । 14 Read संयुतम् ॥ २५ ॥; 15 Read °तारकम् । ; 16 Read सहिरण्यो°; 17 Read ॥२६॥; 18 Read सम्यक्स्थ; 19 Read ॥ २७ ॥; 20 Read ॥२८॥ 21 सत्र° according to LNR; 22 Read ॥ २९ ॥ ; 23 Read ॥ ३० ॥; 24. 25 Read पुण्यप्रवृद्धिकृत् ॥ ३१ ॥; 26 Read ॥ ३२ ॥; 27 Read °नायकः; 28 Read °वृत्तये ।; ॥ 29 Read ॥३३॥; 30 Originally I had read सांबसुवर्णपुत्रस्य; 31 Read शंकरार्थ°.



Onduru Grant af Mallikarjuna. Plate ii b pp. 18–19.



Onduru Grant of Mallikarjuna. Plate iii. pp. 19–20.

(६२) स्य दत्तवान् । सोपि ब्राह्मणसंहृष्टः पुत्रपौत्रसम-
(६३) न्वितः ।[2] राजामाशिषं[3] क्रे[4] चिरंजीवी भवत्वाति[5] । स्व[स्ति]श्री
(६३) जयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्ष सा १३७८
(६५) नेय धातुसंवत्सरद[6] कार्त्तीकशुद्ध[7] द्वादसि आ-
(६६) दिवार दल्लु[8] श्रीमहाराजाधिराजाराज पर-
(६७) मेश्वरश्रीवीरप्रतापप्रौढदेवरायरु
(६८) खडेयद चेन्नपनायक[र]मग, अण्णप्पनायकनु गोक-
(६९) र्णद महा[ा]बलेश्वरदेवरुल्लिदेवरिगे धर्मकागि च्छत्रवनि[9]-
(७०) -क्किसीन[10] येंदुबिन्नहमाढलागि, *बिंह्व पालिसि होनावर-
(७१) दरज्यक्केसलुव हदिखंडदमागणे ओलगण ओंदूरग्राम-
(७२) वनु महाबलेश्वरदे[व]र अमृतपडिश्रीरुद्राभिषेकद जन १,
(७३) अडिगेजन १, पुरोहितजन १, नडपिनजन १, छत्रदल्लि

Plate iii

(७४) १, ब्रह्मरजन १२, अंतुजन १७ कं दिन १ कं हाने ओंदके १७ हाने *लेक्क-
(७५) दलु वर्ष[11] ओंदक्के २०४ अक्कि । य मूडे गागिकोट्ट ओंदूरुग्रामकं हुट्टुवलि
(७६) ८८ अक्कियमूडे[12] आरु आनेय क्कय मूडे ओंदके मूरु काटिय लेक्कदलु
(७७) ६४[13] काटि हण*६कं प्रतापवरह ओंदकं यरडु वरे काटियलेक्कद-
(७८) प्रतापनवं[14]-त्वह २२५ हणा ॥ ३ ॥ द हुट्टुवलिय ओंदूरुग्राम[व]
(७९) नु अष्टभोगतेजस्वाम्यसाहितवागि । सर्वमान्यद अग्रहा-
(८०) रवागि, आचन्द्रार्कस्तायि यागि, धारेनेरेदु, चित्तिविस्तेवा[15]-
(८१) गि आधर्मव नडसुवदक्के[16] । विश्वामित्रगोत्रद ऋ-
(८२) क्शाखेय बसवंणगलमक्कलु संकरदेवगल[17]-
(८३) -केय्यलु आग्रामवनु आताब्रशासनमुद्रे चिट्टुतोर-

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1 Read ब्राह्मणः; 2 Read ॥ ३४ ॥; 3, 4 Read राजानमाशिषं चक्र; 5 Read भवत्विति । 6 Read कार्त्तिक; 7 Read °दल्ल; 8 Read देवरल्लि; 9 Read छत्र; 10 Read क्किंसीनु; 11 Read वर्ष; 12 The figure ough tto be १८८ before अक्कियमूडे to conform to the Sanskrit portion. The figure 1 may be either at the beginning of this line or at the end of the previous line. The reading is āru āney-akaye (akkiya). LNR. 13 Here the figure must be 564. The numeral 5 must be at the end of the previous line or at beginning of the previous line. LNR. 14 Read प्रतापनवरह LNR reads प्रतापवत्-वरह; 15 Read 'Citta-isidevā' LNR; 16 Read नडसुवदके; 17 Read शंकर°

(८४) -णाचिट्टनु कोट्टु आचंद्रार्कस्थाययागिप्रतिदिवु शिक दह-
(८५) -नकट्टणया माडिकोट्टरागि ई धर्मके मंगलमहाश्रीश्रीश्री ॥
(८६) त्वष्टा श्रीमुददणाचार्यसूनु[*:]शासनलेखक[:*]वीरण[:*]सुगुणो धि[1]-
(८७) मान् वृत्तिमेकामिहश्रुते* । एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामे-
(८८) -व भूभुज[2] । न भोज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रादित्ता[3] वसुंधरा ।[4] स्वदत्ता[5]
(८९) द्विगुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं[6] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं
(९०) निष्फलं भवेत् ।[7] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां[8] । ष
(९१) ष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जयते क्रिमिः ।[9][10] दानपालनयो र्म-
(९२) ध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपोलनं[11] दाना[12]त्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्यु-
(९३) तं पदं[13] । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पलनीयो[14]
(९४) भवद्भिः[15] सर्वानेतान्भाविनः[16] पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो[17] याचते[18] रामचं-
(९५) द्रः ॥
(९६) श्री विरूपाक्षः

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1 Read धीमान्; 2 Read भूभुजाम्; 3 Read विपदत्ता; 4 Read वसुन्धरा ॥; 5 Read स्वदत्ताद्; 6 Read °पालनम्: 7 Read भवेत्;॥ 8 Read वसुन्धराम् ।; 9 Read षष्टिं वर्ष°, 10 Read क्रि(कृ) मिः ॥., 11 Read °पालनम् ॥ 12 Read दानात्स्वर्ग°; 13 Read पदम् ॥; 14 Read पालनीयो; 15 Read भवद्भिः । 16 Read भाविनः, 17 Read भूयो भूयो, 18 Read याचते.

ONDŪRU COPPERPLATES OF MALLIKĀRJUNA OF 1456 A. D.

Translation

Lines 1 to 96.

Bow to Śrī Gaṇapati.

Verse 1 :— May the Primeval Boar, who bore (on his tusk) the charming (oozing "sarasām") Earth, like a beautiful lady wet with sweat produced by the embrace of her lover, protect you.

Verse 2 :— May the joyful, one-toothed Child (Gaṇapati), the object of his parents' love, grant (you) bliss, (the child) who crept into the spacious lap (*ut-saṅgaraṅga*) (of his father), who pulled down the crescent Moon from the (fore-) head of Śaṁkara, missing it for his tooth and who was at that time being seen by his mother who incited him to do it, with a laugh, her face being bright with smiles.

Verse 3 :— There[1] was the illustrious dynasty of Yadu, of prosperous rise, the glory of which was possible on account of healthy progeny (mukta-āmaya-sūti-sambhavan-mahimā), ..., the abode of which was at the root ....., and which was esteemed by the Gods.

Verse 4 :— There was born in that (dynasty) a king by name Saṁgama, eminent by his virtues, by whom the Lakṣmī of the Karnāṭaka country was enabled to wear the ear-rings permanently (i. e. she was not allowed to remain as a widow or without a Lord.)

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[1] Verse 3 :— Double meanings are derived from 'vaṁśa' 'A family' and 'a bamboo'.

Epigraphia Carnatica VIII (2) p. 158 translates this verse as follows :— "There is Yadu's dynasty glorious from birth therein of one who is free ailments (Kṛṣṇa) (otherwise the birthplace of pearls)" a root for lofty growth, honoured by the Gods.

For Vaṁśa (a bamboo) a birth place of pearls, see Mallinātha on Raghuvaṁśa, Canto IV., 50.

Also on Kumārasambhava Canto I., v. 6.

21,251

Verse 5 :— In that dynasty there was born of him, they say, Bukkarāya, who tore up with the edge of his sword, more than a hundred hostile princes, and who graced the earth with his fame that had the charm of...

Verse 6 :— In that dynasty there was (born) king Harihara whose orders were held as garlands on their heads (i. e. obeyed) by his chieftains (even) up to the end (of his kingdom), (who was) the Moon (risen) from the ocean of the Yadu Family.

Verse 7 :— From king Harihara, there was (born) Devarāya (I), who was liberal, whose greatness knew no bounds, whose fame was (refulgent) like the Sun, who was prosperous, and whose arms were moving ('firm' if we read 'Sthira') like the Mandara mountain in churning (i. e. exterminating) the dynasties of violent and refractory kings.

Verse 8 :— Like the Moon, the abode of grace of all digits, from the ocean, there was born from him the great king Vijayarāya, the long-lived, the home of the grace of a number of accomplishments, who had the glimmering moonlight of his (deeds of) glory.

Verse 9 :— From him was born the great king Devarāya (II) who was another king of the Gods, the Sun among the Gods and victorious.

Verse 10 :— The king, who after studying (Niṣadyā ?) the science of Archery of Arjuna, though skilled in it ('kṛta-hasta' taking accurate aim), was known in the world as the Munificent ('sthūlahasta', also meaning 'taking careless aim' evident pun on the words).

Verse 11 :— ('a, b,' describe his valour; the meaning is not clear.) (c, d,) It is a wonder that the flame of the fire of his valour, that burns the great dynasties (which are like 'tall bamboos') of hostile kings, does not burn (even) a blade of grass held in their mouths (by hostile kings i. e. does not harm them when they surrender to him. ?)

Verse 12 :— From this king, the store of lustre, there was a son, the illustrious Mallikārjuna, whom people praise as Immaḍi

Devarāya, being superior to his father in a multitude of merits—bravery and others.

Verse 13 :— His fame was like a creeper. Its basin was the Earth. The water for it was the oceans. The covering was of the clouds. The stars formed its blossom. The mountain of the Gods (viz. Meru) was like its prop. The Moon was a fruit (on the creeper).

Verse 14 :— The regions of the Earth being full of the flames issuing from the fire of his valour, Darkness got entrance (only) into the dens of the hearts of hostile princes.

Verse 15 :— His fame, dignified in its speed, plunges into that endless of quarters (i. e. the farthest directions) lest he, liberal as he was, would give it away, as he did the riches and the Earth.

Verse 16 :— He, the warrior, the best among kings, happy in his mind on doing all his duties, pure in his heart, was well bathed in his merits brought together with (coronation) water.

Verses 17 to 34 :— In the year 1378 of the Śālivāhana Era, called the Dhatṛ year. On the 12th day—Sunday of the bright half of the month of Kārtika, at an auspicious hour, he (Mallikārjuna), who put on a pair of silk garments, held white Akṣatas (in his hands) and wore a garland, who was united with Brahmans who had gone to his court, (granted) by pouring water with gold coins according to rites, in the presence of Candra-Mauli (चंद्रमौलि) *this village* of *Ondūru*, with all the rights etc. (*upaskaras*), situated in the Division (veṇṭhe) of Hadikhaṇḍa in the Kingdom of Honnāvara, along with (its income which consisted of) 188-*mūḍas* of fine rice, costing 564 *kāṭis* and 6 *paṇas*, the cost being calculated at the rate of 3 *kāṭis* of Honnāvara for each *mūḍa*, this sum when converted into *varāhas* would be equivalent to 225 *varāhas* and 8 *paṇas*, 2½ kāṭis being taken as equal to 10 varāhas. (The village was granted) as an Agrahāra, acknowledged by all, to last as long as the Moon and the stars endure, for a daily offering of food to, and a perennial pouring of water on Rudra in the Mahābaleśvara (temple) in the Gokarṇa Tīrtha, (one of the many beneficiaries being) Mādhavabhaṭṭa, a learned Brāhmaṇa of the Vāśiṣṭha Gotra, who had completely

mastered the Vedas, for the daily religious duties of the Brāhmaṇas there as also for the Aṅgaraṅgādibhoga and usual monthly festivals.

As the moon in the ocean, there was Aṇṇappa Nāyaka, a son of the chieftain Chennappa Nāyaka, the pious devotee of Śiva foremost in doing the work of his Lord, who destroyed those who rebelled against the king, who was ready to oblige others and who added to his religious merit.

Just at his request, King, Immadi Devarāya (i. e. Mallikārjuna) made this grant, from joy and especially through devotion (to Śiva).

Aṇṇappa Nāyaka too gave this grant, to add to his religious merit, to Śaṁkara, son of Śrī Basavaṇṇa, well known in the Viśvāmitra Gotra and master of the Ṛg-Veda.

The Brāhmaṇa too being delighted, together with his sons and grandsons, blessed the king, " May you live long."[1] Lines 63 to 85 (Kanarese in the original) :—

In the victorious year 1378 of the Śaka Era, the year called Dhātu, on Sunday the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika the illustrious Vīrapratāpa Praudha Dēvarāya granted, for 204 *mūḍes* of rice required every year to feed 17 (temple servants), at the rate of 17 *hāne* per day calculated at one *hāne* per man, the village Ondūru, situated in the magaṇe of Haḍikhaṇḍa in Honnāvara-rājya, in compliance of the desire of Aṇṇappa Nāyaka, the son of Khaḍayada Cannappa-Nāyaka, who requested the king to make a gift for a feeding house for (the benefit of the 17 servants of) the temple of Mahābaleśvara at Gokarṇa, viz. one man who made offerings to the god and performed Rudrābhiṣeka, one man who cooked food, one purohita, one man who managed the affairs, one man who looked after the feeding house and 12 other Brāhmaṇas for worship etc, of the god. The income of this village is 188 *mūḍes* of rice costing 564 kāṭis and 6 haṇas, the cost being

[1] Originally Prof. Sharma of Fergusson College Poona had kindly translated ll. 63 to 85 for me. Now, however, the revised translation of Mr. N. L. Rao is given here.

calculated at the rate of 3 kāṭis per- each *mūḍe* containing 6 (h)ānes of rice, or, 322½ pratāpa-varāhas and 3 haṇas, taking 2½ kāṭis as equal to 1 pratāpa-varāha. The village Ondūru having this income was with all rights etc; granted by us with the pouring of water to last as long as the sun and the moon, as an Agrahāra free of all imposts. In order to conduct this charity we granted this village with the copper-plate inscription bearing the seal and the royal order to (lit. into the hands of) Śaṁkaradēva, son of Basavaṇṇa of Viśvāmitra Gotra and Ṛk-Śākhā. Blessings and great prosperity to this Charity;

Lines 86-87 :—

The engraver is the son of Śrī Muddanācārya, Vīraṇa, and the writer of grants, who, virtuous and intelligent, enjoys the privilege.

Lines 87 to 96 :— (Here follow the five customary admonitory verses.)

Line 96 :— Śrī Virūpākṣaḥ.

NARRATIVE LITERATURE IN JAIN MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ

BY

A. M. GHATAGE, M. A.

The narrative Literature in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī is wide in extent and varied in contents and form. It includes the lives of the mythological personages in Jainism, short stories and fables, legendary and semi-historical accounts of Jain monks of eminence and powerful kings converted to Jain religion, and popular romance. But in all these species of literature Jainism cannot claim originality both in conception and execution. The epics dealing with their prophets are clearly modelled on the Brahmanic epics and Purāṇas; and the oldest available work of this nature, the *Paümacariya* of Vimalasūri, not only draws on the *Rāmāyaṇa* both for its story and literary form, but expressly mentions its author with a tinge of contempt.[1] We may find an older example of this dependence, if we suppose that the lost work of Bhadrabāhu, called *Vasudevacariya*, contained the same material as is found in later works bearing the same title, a fact made probable by the conservative nature of Jain traditions. As suggested by Muni Jinavijayajī,[2] with a fair amount of probability, the model for the Prabandhas, in which Jain writers take a special interest, is to be found in the Brahmanic works dealing with the lives of such ancient kings as Vatsarāja and Naravāhanadatta, even though all existing Brahmanic works of this nature are very late. In the case of popular romance, we have the testimony of the grammarian Patañjali,[3] that many romances, presumably in Sanskrit and by Brahmanic writers, existed in the second century B. C., while the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya was probably a Brahmanic work. The case of popular stories and fables, however, admits of a different solution. The stories in Brahmanic works like the *Pañcatantra*, the Buddhist *Jātakas* and

1 Paümacariya ii.

2 Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka Vol. 3. No. 2. p. 170.

3 Mahābhāṣya 4. 3. 87.

Jain stories, all presuppose a common heritage from ancient Indian folklore; while mutual borrowings, though existent, are late and easily detectable.

The question[1] of the priority of Prakrit over Sanskrit in the writing of this secular literature stands on a different footing. It is seriously contended that even the Brahmanic epics were originally written in some form of Prakrit, from which they were rendered into Sanskrit at the time of the Gupta revival. It is, further, pointed out that the Sanskrit language, conveniently called 'epic Sanskrit' shows unmistakable traces of Prakrit influence, which are regarded, on this theory, as the survivals of its original language. But this theory is based upon the mistaken view of regarding Sanskrit as a purely artificial language, created by the energies of the Brahmanic priests, and restricted to sacred use only. No Prakrit epic can claim priority over the epics in their original form, and the question of 'epic Sanskrit' admits of a better and simpler solution. The miserable effect of translating Prakrit originals into Sanskrit, as found in the Buddhist works of the beginning of the Christian era, stands in glaring contrast with the language of the epics which shows clear traces of a living tongue. The priority of Prakrit in writing the popular romance is supported by the illustration of the *Bṛhat-kathā;* but we have earlier evidence of Patañjali of such romantic tales being current about his time, and as long as we are not able to decide in which language they were written, we cannot arrive at a definite conclusion.

It was but natural that, when the borrowal was from one religion to another, the religious element should occupy a very important place, by way of contrast. So, the lives of the Jain prophets and other religious persons in their mythology attracted greatest attention from the Jain writers. These religious persons are said to be 63 in number, and are classified in a definite scheme. First of all come the *Tīrthaṁkaras*, the prophets of Jainism, who are 24 for this era. Their chief function in this life is to remove the darkness of ignorance and to preach the Jain religion for the benefit of people. Like the Buddhas, they are

[1] Keith, Classical Sanskrit Literature ch. i.

not regarded as ordinary men, but supernatural beings, whose lives are marked by definite steps in which the intervention of gods is found necessary. This conception about their nature has made their lives much like each other, and we find many writers treating them in a definite and well-established manner.

Besides these, there are the 12 *Cakravartins* who are universal kings, and most of them are patrons of Jainism; their life is marked by the great conquest of the world, at the end of which comes a course of asceticism leading to final liberation. Then come the 9 *Baladevas* and *Vāsudevas*, who are born as brothers, and of whom the latter has to fight a victorious battle with his greatest enemy called *Prativāsudeva*. Both the fighters go to hell after their worldly life, however glorious it may be, as it should be under the law of *ahiṁsā*, a breach of which is invariably punished with life in hell. The Vāsudevas, however, are silent and meek in nature, and being strong adherents of Jainism, go to heaven.

A striking characteristic of these *Śalākā-Puruṣas* as they are called, is that many of them are found in the Brahmanic mythology. We, here, meet with the familiar names of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the kings like Sagara and Bhagīratha and demons like Rāvaṇa, Madhu and others. The stories relating to them are materially the same, and differ in a few unimportant points from those found in works like *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, or even other Purāṇas. That the Jain versions are late can be seen from the changes which are made under the influence of the growing spirit of rationalism, and the purging off of the element of mystery and myth. Again, in the adoptation of these stories to a particular religion, we find that their atmosphere has changed to a considerable extent. Every person in the story is shown to have, at the end, come to realise the real nature of this world, and is made to take up asceticism under an omniscient Jain teacher.

Besides these lives of mythical persons, we have stories and lives of a semi-historical nature about the great Jain pontiffs who followed Mahāvīra, as the head of the Jain community, and great kings converted to Jainism. These works get the peculiar name of Prabandha a type of literature very much favoured by Jain scholars. Though dealing with historical theme, their value

for history is small, and the spirit of religious preaching dominates them throughout.

The romantic tale usually chooses for its subject-matter the lives of *Vidyādharas*, who are the demigods in Jain mythology. This gives it a very wide scope for the play of supernatural elements which are freely mixed up with things of this world. The love stories of their kings, who are also represented as worshipping and honouring Jain Tīrthaṁkaras, occupy nearly all the Jain romances.

This narrative literature must have been wider than what we now possess. There are indications that many early works have lost to us, and we have only their names preserved in later works. The oldest of such works appears to be the *Vasudevacariya* of the venerable sage Bhadrabāhu, who was, in all probability, a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya. This work is referred to by Devacandra, the teacher of the famous scholar Hemacandra, in the introductory portion of his *Śāntināthacarita*. In the *Niśīthacūrṇi* we find the mention of *Naravāhanadatta-Kathā* under the category of Laukika, and *Magadhasenā* and *Taraṅgavatī* as illustrations of Lokottara Kathās. Another story called *Sulocanā* is mentioned by Udyotana in his *Kuvalayamālā;* while Siddhasena-gaṇin, in his commentary on the *Tattvārtha-Sūtras* mentions an Ākhyāyikā called *Bandhumatī*. All these ancient works are now lost, and we cannot form any opinion about him.

The oldest available Jain epic of the nature of a Purāṇa is undoubtedly the *Paümacariya*[1] of Vimalasūri. Very little is known of this voluminous writer except that he was the pupil of Vijaya, himself a pupil of Rāhū. Neither of these names are to be found in old Paṭṭāvalis. The author also mentions that he belonged to the Nāilavaṁśa, which was also the *vaṁśa* of his teacher. Now this *vaṁśa* is said to be no other than the Nāgendrakula founded by one of the four pupils of Vajrasena who lived in the first century A. D.

The date of Vimala is a disputed question. At the end of the work itself we find the year 530 A. V. mentioned as the time of writing the work. This means that the writer wrote his work in

[1] Ed. by Jacobi, Bhavanagar.

A. D. 4, or 64 A. D. if we put the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra 60 years later following Jacobi. The same scholar has pointed out that the work cannot be so early. He has detected in it traces of the influence of Greek astronomy, which according to him, was introduced into India in the 4th c. A. D. The language of the work also shows some Apabhraṁśa features like the gerund in '*evi*', and the use of the particle '*kavaṇa*'. These facts lead him to assign the work to *Circa* 300 A. D. K. H. Dhruva has also pointed out that the use of such modern metres as *gāhuṁi* and *saraha*, points to the same conclusion.

The relation of Vimala to Raviṣeṇa, whose *Padmapurāṇa* agrees closely with our text is sufficient to prove that he is earlier than him and therefore cannot be later than 7th c. A. D. as some have thought with the wrong supposition that he copies Raviṣeṇa. That he belonged to the first century is not probable in view of the fact that the Nāgendravaṁśa was founded at the end of the first century, and possibly a few generations might have elapsed between the founder of the *vaṁśa* and our author. The Greek influence, also, can on no account be carried back earlier than the second century.[1] Vimala, therefore, lived in the second or the third century A. D.

His *Paümacariya* is a vast epic divided into 118 cantos covering more than 9000 verses. The subject matter of the work is nothing but the Jain version of the epic story of Rāma, who is called in Jain mythology by the name Padma. Herein, we meet all the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmikī, and the author refers to it at the beginning. In the main, the story is the same, with changes like the killing of Rāvaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa who plays the part of the hero; the nature of the Rākṣasas and Vānaras, who are represented as the various tribes of the Vidyādharas, deriving their totemic names from the pictures upon their banners, the dropping of the golden-deer incident and many minor changes. The work also treats of the later life of Rāma, the birth of his children Lava and Kuśa, and the final liberation of Rāma. The whole story is set in the back-ground of the life of Munisūvrata the 19th Tīrthaṁkara, and this necessitates the writer

[1] Winternitz G. I. L. Vol. iii p. 570.

to introduce so many religious sermons in the book. The work also contains a good many episodes of romantic and legendary character.

The style of the work is marked by fluency and force. The chief interest of the work being narrative, the author cares more for the telling of the story than mere poetic elaborations and descriptions of towns and other things. But in some cases where such descriptions occur, we get a glimpse of the writer's ability of composing elegant verses of real poetic flash. His vocabulary is rich and many Deśī words are to be met with. The introduction of these words served the purpose of making the epic easy to understand for the common people, which was necessary for a work of religious and propagandistic nature. This popular nature of the work is also the cause of much grammatical anomaly and the influence of the Apabhraṁśa language.

Another old writer is Pādalipta, whose *Taraṅgavaī* is now lost to us. That the writer is old is shown by the fact that his work is mentioned in the *Anuyogadvāra-Sūtra* of the Ardha-Māgadhī canon, which cannot be later than the 5th c. A. D. but considerably earlier. In the *Prabhāvaka-carita*, we find one whole Prabhandha[1] devoted to him. From it we gather that he was born in the town of Kosala to a merchant Phulla and his wife Pratimā. He was named Nāgendra because he was born to his mother as the result of drinking the water touched by the feet of Nāgahastin. The child was given to him and was initiated to Jainism very early. He was renamed as Pādalipta when he became a monk. He is represented as visiting towns like Mathurā, Pāṭaliputra, countries like Lāṭa, Surāṣṭra and Śatruṁjaya, all of them in northern India. The fact that he came to Mānyakheṭa when Kṛṣṇa of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was ruling there, is unhistorical. That he was a contemporary of King Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna, and composed his romance for him, as also the fact that the town Pālithaṇa derived its name from him, is equally untenable. Another tradition makes him a contemporary of King Vikrama of Ujjayinī.

[1] Kāvyamālā Ed. p. 47.

Even though this fine romance is now lost, fortunately for us, we have a short epitome of it, called *Tārangalotā*, made by Nemicandra, a pupil of Vīrabhadra, of unknown date. From the introductory remarks of this writer, we come to understand that the original work was a fine piece of poetic composition, and equally difficult on account of the vast amount of Deśī words used by the writer. And we may readily believe that the loss of the work is to be attributed to the same cause.

Early in the 6th c. must have been written the great prose work *Vasudevahiṇḍī.*[1] It is a composite product of two authors, Saṁghadāsa and Dharmasenagaṇin. That the work is old is proved by the fact that so ancient an author as Jinabhadrakṣamāśramaṇa refers to it in his *Viśeṣaṇavatī*, and that later writers like Haribhadra and Malayagiri refer to it and use it in writing their commentaries on the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti.* According to Paṭṭāvalis, Jinabhadra is assigned to the 7th c. A. D. and so our author must be a little earlier.

The work is called a *Hiṇḍī*, a peculiar form of composition meaning the transmigratory 'wanderings' of the hero. The present work is divided into 100 Lambakas, and gives a good deal of general information about the origin of the story and other extraneous matter. The chief aim of the work is to give the life of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa, who are made contemporary of Ariṣṭanemi. But the first part of the work contains another practically independent work the *Dhammillahiṇḍī* which is said to represent the good effects of meritorious deeds in this very life, and thus stands in contrast with the other in which they take effect in the next life. As usual, this story is also an adaptation of the Brahmanic epic dealing with the fortunes of the Kuru race; and it also appears to make use of *Harivaṁśa.* The striking feature of this remoulding is the insignificant place to which the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas are relegated, and the prominence in which the Harivaṁśa emerges, a feature found in its formation in the Brahmanic epic itself.

How far our writers have made use of the older work of Bhadrabāhu, we cannot know. But the model of our work appears tobe the famous *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, which is now found in

[1] Ed. Bhavanagar, 1930.

late Sanskrit renderings of dubious accuracy. This is indicated by the use of Lambakas, to denote the divisions and the use of such terms as Mukha, Pratimukha, Śarīra etc. to designate the various parts of the story, which terms later vanish from Indian literature. The style of the work is simple, but much uneven; in that sometimes the author tries to show his poetic skill in describing towns and countries, with dubious success. Whenever he comes to the narration of the story he becomes fairly simple and effective, and his narrative moves with rapid strides.

We now come to the great romance of the famous scholar Haribhadra called *Samarāditya-Kathā.*[1] Our scholar, we know, was a very famous writer in the middle ages, and a vast amount of legendary information is current about him. The most famous of these stories is the one describing his meeting with the Jain nun Yākinī, who puzzled this proud scholar with a verse giving the scheme of the Śalākā-puruṣas. This caused Haribhadra to become her pupil and take up Jainism. This, it is said, is the significance of the phrase '*Yākinī-mahattarāsūnu,*' which Haribhadra uses at the end of his works. Another story relates how two of his cousins and pupils Haṁsa and Paramahaṁsa were killed by the Buddhists, and led him to take the resolution of killing in turn 14000 Buddhists. But at the teacher's remonstration, he repented of his bad intention, and as an expiatory right for the same determined to compose so many works. This, again, it is pointed out, is the significance of his *virahāṇka* which he consistently uses at the end of his works. But such stories cannot be taken as sober history. They appear to be later inventions to explain the use of these curious phrases by the writer.

Haribhadra's date can be fixed with considerable certainty. The fact that Siddharṣi the author of the allegorical story *Upamitibhava-prapañcakathā,* written in A. D. 906, refers to him as his *guru,* is not to be explained as meaning his actual teacher, but only showing that Siddharṣi was influenced by the great scholar to a very great extent and so was regarded by him as his *guru.* This is certain, because we have an earlier writer Udyotana who wrote in A. D. 779, referring to him and his work in an unmis-

[1] Ed. Jacobi B. I. 1926.

takable manner. Haribhadra himself refers to the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti and so must be later than A. D. 650. We may conclude, therefore, that Haribhadra lived in the 8th century A. D.

His *Samarādityakathā* is a big romance in mixed prose and verse, divided into 9 Bhavas to which is attached a *bhūmikā* at the beginning, and gives the lives of two persons inimical to each other, in their 9 births. In each of these series of lives there results a quarrel between the two in which the one with the bad disposition of mind, kills the other. The cause of this enmity is traced to a really tragic situation in which one is insulted and maltreated by the other unknowingly. Three times Guṇasena invites Agniśarman for meals, and is not able to take notice of him on account of some worldly hurry and anxiety. This leads the insulted ascetic to make up his mind to take revenge of the king, which act is technically called a *nidāna*. And the chief purpose of the story is to illustrate the bad results of such an impious wish, which one should always try to avoid. The present work is called by the writer as a Dharmakathā, and teaching of religious principles is its avowed theme.

Haribhadra is no doubt, a great scholar and well versed in Sanskrit literature. This has made him to write his work in an elaborate and ornate style, just on the model of Sanskrit Mahākāvyas. We find him using a rich and Sanskritic vocabulary, and he follows the conventions of the writers on poetics to a considerable extent in giving descriptions of towns, lakes and gardens. But he can also become simple and effective, as when in the second chapter he narrates the story of the Tāpasa and his three visits to the King. His use of poetic figures is happy and free from the defect of too much artificiality. But his prose is marred by the use of long compounds and series of puns, rendered more recondite on account of the greater flexibility of the Prakrit language. As pointed out by Jacobi, his language shows peculiarities of Śaurasenī, particularly in prose.

Close to Haribhadra, we must place Uddyotanasūri, the author of the great romance *Kuvalayamālākathā*, of considerable extent and written in A. D. 779. We are fortunate in having a long *praśasti* of 29 verses, at the end of the work, in which the author

gives much useful information. In the northern part of India, there was a town Paṿvaiyā near the river Candrabhāgā, and was the capital of the Yavana King Toramāṇa. The teacher of this King was one Harigupta of the Gupta family, and lived there. One of his pupils was Devagupta, a royal descendant of the Gupta dynasty, who, in turn, had a pupil called Śivacandra, bearing the title *mahattara*. In his wanderings, this Śivacandra made his residence at Bhillamāla, otherwise known as Śrīmāla, the ancient capital of Gujarat. His pupil was Yakṣadatta of great repute, and had a band of pupils who are represented as making the whole of Gujarat a convert to Jainism. One of these pupils was Vateśvara who built a temple of the Jina in the town of Ākāśavapra. He had a pupil Tattvācārya who was the teacher of our author. Uddyotana received the knowledge of the scriptures from Vīrabhadra, while he learnt logic and other sciences from the famous scholar Haribhadra.

We also know something about the secular parentage of Uddyotana. His father was Samprati or Vaḍesara, and the name of his grand-father was Uddyotana, who lived in the town of Mahādvāra. Our author wrote the work in the town of Jabālipura, while living in the temple of the Jina, built by his teacher Vīrabhadra. The ruling King at the time was Vatsarāja of the family of Pratihāras.

This *Praśasti* gives rise to many problems of great historical importance, the solutions of which are of equal interest both to Jainism and Brahmanism. Toramāṇa is no doubt the well-known Hun conqueror, whose capital is here located in Punjab. But the case of the two Guptas remains doubtful. It is of great importance to know whether they belonged to the royal Gupta dynasty, which appears to be the meaning of the phrases used by our author, but without sufficient evidence to accept it as settled.

The *Kuvalayamālā* is also important on account of its use of so many Prakrits. It makes use of Paiśācī and Apabhraṁśa, besides the normal Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, and gives much interesting information about earlier authors. It makes mention of Pādalipta, Sātavāhana, Ṣaṭparṇaka, Guṇāḍhya, Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Bāṇa, Vimala, Raviṣeṇa, Jaḍila, Devagupta, Prabhañjana, and Haribhadra with their various works.

A work dealing comprehensively with all the mythological persons and possibly forming the model for the still greater work of Hemacandra in Sanskrit, is the *Mahāpuruṣacarita* of Śīlācārya. The identity of this writer with Śīlāṅka, the commentator of the first two Aṅgas of the Jain canon, is doubtful, even though their dates fall in the same period. Our author was a pupil of Mānadeva of the Nirvṛtikulīnagaccha, and wrote the present work in A. D. 868. The work deals with 54 Śalākā-puruṣas, the 9 Prativāsudevas being included in the lives of their opponents, and not counted separately. In A. D. 917 was writen a romance called the *Bhuvanasundarī-Kathā* of more than 8000 Ślokas, by Vijayasiṁhasūri, a pupil of Samudrasūri of the Nāilavaṃśa which is identical with the Nāgendrakula.

In the 10th century or about that time is to be placed the small narrative in prose called the *Kālakācāryakāthānaka*,[1] of an unknown writer. It gives the story of the overthrow of Gardabhilla the King of Ujjayinī, who is said to have carried away with force into his harem Sarasvatī, the younger sister of the sage Kālaka. To take revenge on him, Kālaka goes to the Śaka Satraps called the Sāhis, and with their help conquers the King of Āvantī. The story may have got some historical truth in it. It shows that as early as the first century A. D. Jainism had its stronghold in the country of Mālavā, and appears to be on its course to Gujarat. The style of the work is elaborate and the writer makes fullest use of the few chances he gets of describing seasons and towns, in which he tries to show his poetic skill.

In the beginning of the 11th c. A. D. we have a beautiful romance in *Surasundaricariya*[2] of Dhaneśvaramuni. At the end of the work, he informs us that he was a pupil of the famous writers Jineśvara and Buddhisāgara, who belonged to the Candrakulīnagaccha. The work was written in A. D. 1038 in the town of Candrāvati.

This romance is divided into 16 Paricchedas and contains 4000 Gāthās. It gives in the usual method of a romantic author, the love story of a Vidyādhara chief and his marriage with his beloved, after a long period of separation, marked by the alternate

[1] Ed. Jacobi Z. D. M. G., Vol. 34. 1880.

[2] Ed. Rajavijayaji, Benares 1916.

use of hope and despair. The device of a story being set into another is, here, used with considerable skill and success; while the whole structure of so many story-currents running parallel, comes to a close with appreciable effect. The writer says at the beginning that the story was written at the request of his elder sister Kalyāṇa-Mati, and was written in an easy style devoid of all poetic embellishments to make it comprehensible to ordinary people, a fact borne out fully by his production.

Earlier than A. D. 1052 is the *Pañcamīkahā* of Maheśvarasūri a pupil of Sajjanopādhyāya. The work is written to illustrate by means of stories, the importance of the vow of Śrutapañcamī. Two of these stories, those of Jayasena and Bhaviṣyadatta are given at greater length, than the other eight stories. The work has 2000 Gāthās on the whole.

A little later lived the writer Candraprabhamahattara, whose small poem about the life of *Vijayacandrakevalin* in 1063 Gāthās, contains stories to illustrate the good effect of the worship of the Jinas. They are eight in number and illustrate the eight different ways of performing this worship. The writer belonged to the Vijayagaccha, and was a pupil of Abhayadevasūri. The work was written in A. D. 1070, at the request of his pupil Vīradeva in the town of Devāvaḍa, while the author was living in the temple of Ṛṣabha. The style of the work is easy and without pretensions to high poetic flights.

A big work, dealing with the last prophet of Jainism, is the *Mahāvīracarita* of Guṇacandra who belonged to the Candrakulina-gaccha. The author was a pupil of Sumativācaka, who, in turn, was a pupil of Prasannacandra at whose request the present work was composed. The date of the work is given as A. D. 1082.

The work is divided into eight Prastāvas and uses prose and verse indiscriminately. The author deals mainly with the legendary life of Mahāvīra, and has little historical sense. Half the work is devoted to the former lives of Mahāvīra, which begin with that of Nayasāra, a village officer. Then follows a long series of lives in which the most important are those of Marīci, Tripṛṣṭa, and Priyamitra. At the end comes the life of Mahāvīra himself. The work ends with the attainment of omniscience by

the lord and his sermons to his first disciples, who become his 11 Gaṇadharas.

The language of the present work is much more grammatical and chaste than that of older works like *Paümacariya* and others. There is no use of words without inflections nor of cases wrongly used. This is mainly due to the influence of classical Sanskrit works, that always exercised their influence over Prakrit throughout its career, and later became more and more dominant so as to render it servile and imitative. The style of Guṇacandra is obviously influenced by writers like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa, from whose classics he derives many of his ideas and expressions. The result of his Sanskrit studies is the use of long and intricate compounds, figures of words, only based upon paranomasia, and rare and poetic words only to be met with in Sanskrit. It also led to the decrease of purely Deśī words which were substituted by *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words as being more scholarly.

But along with this change in language the poetic value of the work has also changed. The monotonous flow of the earlier writers now gives place to a varied and careful use of different metres, even though Gāthā continues to predominate. Beautiful descriptions of kings and towns are to be met with on every page of the work, and the whole work stands out as a charming Kāvya standing comparison with other works in Sanskrit of its nature. The modern date of the work has made it possible for the writer to introduce a few Apabhraṁśa strophes to exhibit his knowledge of that language. In still later works they grow more and more extensive. *Mahāviracarita* has some 50 Apabhraṁśa verses, which appear to show the Gurjara dialect of the Nāgara Apabhraṁśa as pointed out by the Gen. sing. in *ha*.

The famous commentator Abhayadeva had a pupil Vardhamāna who wrote two Prakrit works. One of it is the romance *Manoramācarita* having 15000 Gāthās, written in A. D. 1083; and another is his *Ādināthacarita* in 1100C verses, divided into 5 Prastāvas, giving the life of Ṛṣabha. It was written at Stambhatīrtha in A. D. 1103. It has many Apabhraṁśa verses scattered throughout the work. In the same year was written the *Śāntināthacarita* of Devacandra, the teacher of the famous writer Hemacandra. He belonged to the Pūrṇatallagaccha, and was a pupil of

Guṇasenasūri. His work covers 12000 Ślokas, and at the beginning of it, he refers to earlier authors like Indrabhūti, Bhadrabāhu and his *Vāsudevacarita*, Haribhadra's *Samarāditya kathā*, Dākṣiṇyacinhasūri's *Kuvalayamālā*, and Siddharṣi's *Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā*. It has many verses in Apabhraṁśa dialect.

A year later, in A. D. 1104, Śāntisūri a pupil of Nemicandra belonging to the Candrakula and the Bṛhat gaccha composed the *Pṛthvīcandracarita*, at the request of his pupil Municandra. It has 7500 verses. In A. D. 1108 was written the *Pārśvanāthcarita* of Devabhadra a pupil of Prasannacandra, himself a student of the commentator Abhayadevasūri. The work was composed at Bhṛgukaccha, and deals with the lives of the 23rd Tīrthaṁkara.

In the 12th century, we find Hemacandra the great scholar of Gujarat writing his *Kumārapālacarita*.[1] He is one of the many-sided and fruitful writers, and he is as great a scholar as a good poet. To him, more than to anybody else Gujarat owes its greatness in literature. He was not only a writer of Jain works, but has also written text books on grammar, lexicography, poetics, metrics, and was well-known by his title of Kalikālasarvajña, which he eminently deserved. He was born in the year 1089 A. D. at Dhundukā a small town in Gujarat, as the son of a merchant. His parents were pious Jain lay-followers, and in his early childhood he was converted to that faith. As a Jain monk he spent the greater part of his life in the capital of Gujarat. His patron was first the Cālukya King Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (A. D. 1094-A. D. 1143). His successor King Kumārapāla was converted to Jainism by him. After this Gujarat became the centre of Jain religion, and many of the acts of this King were directed by his teacher.

Considering the close relationship between King Kumārapāla and his famous teacher Hemacandra, we do not find much historical information in his work, as we should expect. In fact the motive that guided Hemacandra in writing his work was neither historical nor poetic, but purely grammatical. To illustrate his grammar called *Siddha-Hemacandra* after the names of both the writer and his patron, he composed a *Dvyāśrayakāvya* of which the *Kumārapālacarita* forms a part, and it is intended to illustrate his Prakrit grammar. As such the work shows no merit except

[1] Ed. by Pandit in B. S. S.

that of supplying illustrations for the various rules in his grammar. The last two cantos are composed in various Prakrit dialects like Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśācī and Apabhraṃśa.

An elder contemporary of this writer was another Hemacandra belonging to the Maladhārigaccha, and a pupil of Abhayadevasūri. He is well-known for his great work in the form of a commentary on *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* of Jinabhadra. He wrote the life of Neminātha the 23rd Tirthaṁkara in the Prakrit epic called *Neminātthacarita* in 5000 Gāthās.

One of the pupils of this Hemacandra was Śrīcandra. In his life as a householder, he appears to be a state officer in the reign of King Siddharāja. His big epic, the *Munisūvratasvāmicarita*, which includes the story of Rāma also, was written in A. D. 1135, at the request of one Dhavala of the Poravāda family, in the town of Āśāvallipura. At the end, we have his Praśasti giving much useful information about his contemporaries.

A co-student of this Śrīcandra was Lakṣmaṇagaṇi who is the author of the big work *Supāsanāhacariya*, of some 8000 Gāthās. From the end of the work, we know that he wrote it in A. D. 1142. It describes the life of the 7th Tirthaṁkara, giving his earlier lives, wherein he acquires the good merit to be born as a Jina. A major portion of the work is devoted to the preachings of Jina, after he has obtained omniscience; but even this part is made interesting by the introduction of so many stories to illustrate the various vows of Jainism, a fact showing clearly the religious spirit dominating all the writings of Jain monks. The style of the work is flowing and possesses a charm of its own when he is describing some supernatural objects. The writer's skill of adapting sound to the sense can be seen in his description of the miserly merchant; though he is unable to come out of the dry narratives of a host of bare names, he exhibits much poetic skill when he comes to describe the Abhiṣeka of the prophet on mount Meru.

About this time lived another Śrīcandra who belonged to the Candragaccha, and was a pupil of Devendrasūri. He composed his *Sanatkumāracarita* of 8127 Ślokas in A. D. 1157. In the beginning he refers to Haribhadra, Siddhamahākavi, Abhayadeva, Dhanapāla, Devacandra, Śāntisūri, Devabhadra, and Hemacandra of Mala-

dhārigaccha. The story of Sanatkumāra, the Sovereign King, is full of romantic and supernatural elements. He was carried away by a horse and deserted into a dense forest, where he met with a number of difficulties from which he comes out successful, and obtains in the manner of a true romance, so many daughters of Vidyādharas as his wives.

Another contemporary writer is Haribhadra belonging to the Vaṭagaccha, and a pupil of Śrīcandra. His patron was minister Pṛthvīpāla, of the two Solaṅki Kings Siddharāja and Kumārapāla. He is well-known for his Ap. work *Nemināhacariu* written in A. D. 1159, in the same year when Kumārapāla was converted to Jainism by Hemacandra. He also wrote a big Prakrit epic called *Mallināthacarita* in 3 Prastāvas, giving the life of the 19th Jina who is regarded by the Śvetāmbaras as a woman, which was due to his deceitful behaviour in his former life. Another work of this author is the *Candraprabhacarita* in 8000 verses.

At the end of this century, just after the death of King Kumārapāla and his teacher Hemacandra, we find Somaprabha writing two of his big Prakrit works about A. D. 1195. One of it is the *Kumārapālapratibodha*,[1] originally called by the writer *Jiṇadhammappaḍivoha*; a big work giving so many stories as illustrations of the various principles of Jainism. It is divided into 5 Prastāvas. It begins with the description of Gujarat and its capital Aṇahillapāṭaṇa, and enumerates in quick succession the various Kings of the Cālukya family founded by Mūlarāja. We then come to Kumārapāla who shows some inclinations towards the problems of religion and its different solutions. His minister informs him of Hemacandra and gives a short account of his birth and monkhood. Then follows the meeting between the King and this illustrious scholar, and the whole work is represented as forming a conversation between them. At the end of each story, the King is shown to accept the particular vow of Jainism, and gives order to be observed throughout his Kingdom.

As Jinavijayajī, the learned editor of this work, has observed, in view of the fact that the present work is written only 11 years after the death of King Kumārapāla, we find little historical in-

[1] Ed. in G. O. S.

formation about the times in which the author lived, and the then conditions of Gujarat. The aim of the author is only to give stories and old religious sermons to impress the principles of Jainism on the mind of his readers. The two great personages only form a convenient and attractive background to this aim. The style of the work is fairly simple and smooth. It is written in mixed prose and verse, and many Apabhraṁśa and Sanskrit stories are found, particularly in the 5th Prastāva. Another Prakrit work of this writer is the *Sumatināthacarita*, giving the life of the 5th Tīrthaṁkara. It occupies more than 9000 verses, and like his other work contains stories and legends to preach Jain principles.

Interesting is the romance, called *Maiayasundrīkaṭhā*, in which an unknown Jain writer has worked many popular and fairy tales. All the usual motives of a fairy tale are to be found in this romance. It describes the love story of prince Mahābala and Malayasundarī, their separation and reunion. It is earlier than the 14th c. A. D. when a Sanskrit epitome of the work was made by Dharmacandra.

Still later, we have another work dealing with the life of the Jain Tīrthaṁkara Śāntinātha by one Munibhadra, written in A.D. 1353. A few years later, in A. D. 1371, is written a romantic story of a King Śrīpāla, by one Ratnaśekhara, to illustrate the effect of worshipping the Navapadas.

In the 15th c. we have the *Rayaṇaseharakahā* of Jinahaṁsa, a pupil of Jayacandra. It was written in prose and verse, and covers 8000 Ślokas. Still later we have the short story of Kummāputta in 180 Gāthās, written by Jinamāṇikya or his pupil. It gives his life as an illustration of the wonderful effects of *bhāvaśuddhi*, which helps even a householder to obtain omniscience.

From this brief review of these works, we come to know that they are useful to us in many ways. Besides the help they give us to understand the Prakrit languages and the Deśī vocabulary, their value as representing various types of poetic composition is not inconsiderable. Even though they are not of much historical value, the scraps of information they supply about the middle and dark ages of Indian history, are not only welcome but necessary to

give us a connected picture of the many-sided activities of the same, in the present condition of our knowledge. This information is more valuable because many of these works give definite dates and places of their composition, a thing rarely to be met with in Brahmanic and Buddhist works of the same age. But their chief contribution to our knowledge lies in giving much-needed information about the social conditions of India in the middle ages. The society, they represent, is, though formally one of Jain faith, is fairly typical of all the people in those times, and can be taken to be such, without any serious mistake. [1]

[1] The writer wants to acknowledge here his great obligations to his revered teacher, Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A., Rajaram College, Kolhapur.

KAVIDARPAṆAM

[A Prākṛta Treatise on Metres]

BY

PROF. H. D. VELANKAR, M. A.

INTRODUCTION

In his learned commentary on the Ajitaśāntistava of Nandiṣeṇa, Jinaprabha refers to a work called Kavidarpaṇa (cf. Peterson, Reports III p. 231 and Velankar, Descriptive Catalogue of the B. B. R. A. S. Mss., No. 1794). It is obviously a work on Pk. metres and seems to have obtained some popularity in Sam. 1365, in which year the above-mentioned commentary was written. I soon found out that a copy of a Kavidarpaṇa existed in the Mss. Library of the B. O. R. I., Poona (see my Descriptive Catalogue, p. 492, note to p. 455), and that this Kavidarpaṇa was very probably the one which Jinaprabhasūri knew.

2 The B. O. R. I. Ms. (No. 15 of 1880-81) is written on palm leaves and seems to be much old. It is without beginning or end, but only a leaf on either side appears to have been lost. It is written in Devanāgarī characters and is quite good and legible. It contains a good commentary, whose author, however, like the author of the text, is unknown. Neither is mentioned in the colophons to the several chapters. No other Mss. of this rare work are available. I am, therefore, compelled to base the edition upon this single Ms. In the Ms., at the end of every illustration the name of the metre is given in Prākṛta. But this has been dropped in the edition for the sake of convenience. Besides, it is unnecessary since the illustration itself contains the name of the metre by way of what is known as the Mudrālaṁkāra.

3 Both the author of the Kavidarpaṇa and its commentator were Jain monks and knew Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana very well. In the former are quoted (1) Jinasiṁhasūri under Cūḍāladohaka ; cf. II. Ex. 23 ; (2) Hemacandra under Śrīdhavala ; cf. II. Ex. 57 ; (3) Sūraprabhasūri under Dvibhaṅgī ; cf. II. Ex. 59 ;

(4) Tilakasūri under the same metre; cf. II. Ex. 63; (5) and Harṣadeva, the author of Ratnāvalī, under Dvipadīkhaṇḍa; cf. II. Ex. 65. The commentator, on the other hand, largely draws upon Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana to explain and supplement the text, and occasionally quotes from the Chandaḥkandalī (on II. 28, 29, 32), which is a Prākṛta work on metres very similar to the Kavidarpaṇa. He also quotes from other authors called Śūra, (on I. I, II. 4) Piṅgala, (on II. 9) Trilocanadāsa (on II. 4) Svayambhū (on I. 8) Pādaliptasūri, (Ex. com. 27); and Manoratha, (on II. 33; 34; Ex. com. 34). Of these the first three are Sanskrit writers, while the last three are Prākṛta ones. Besides, the following personalities are mentioned in the *illustrations* :—Ratnasūri (com. 23), Siddharāja Jayasiṁha (text 55, com. 42, 43), Dharmasūri (com. 43). Kumārapāla (text 49, 51, 56, 68; com. 44), Samudrasūri (text 35), Bhīmadeva (text 48), Tilakasūri (text 47), Śākambharirāja (text 49), Yaśoghoṣasūri (text 52), and Sūraprabhasūri (text 63).

4 The Kavidarpaṇa gives 69 illustrations, almost all of which were composed by the author himself, while the commentator gives 57 more (or 61 including the four, given in ch. I), which mostly appear to be quotations from stray lyric poetry. In either case, no additional light is thrown on the contemporaneous Prākṛta poetry. Had the author and the commentator drawn their illustrations from the then existing Prākṛta poets, they would have helped us much in the restoration of Prākṛta poetry which is now lost to us. In composing his own illustrations, our author has followed the lead given by the famous Hemacandra.

5 That our Kavidarpaṇa is identical with the work of that name from which Jinaprabhasūri gave his definitions of the metres of the Ajitaśāntistava, is almost to be assumed as a fact. Jinaprabha quotes 34 stanzas in all. Of these, 33 contain the definitions of 32 metres, and one is of an introductory nature, explaining the technical names and divisions of the five Mātrāgaṇas, containing respectively 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 Mātrās. They are called Ka, Ca, Ṭa, Ta and Pa in order. These are obviously named after the first letters of the five classes. This particular verse is from the Kavidarpaṇa (I. 2). The next two stanzas quoted by Jinaprabha are also from the Kavidarpaṇa (II. 4, 5),

They give the definition of a Gāthā. The very peculiar wording of one of these verses, which is found to be the same both in Kavidarpaṇa and the quotation of Jinaprabha, ought to leave no doubt regarding the identity of our work with the one known to Jinaprabha. The next quotation of Jinaprabha, however, is not from our book, though the definition of Māgadhikā which comes after it is again taken from it. All the other definitions given by Jinaprabha are nowhere to be found in our Kavidarpaṇa. Neither the names nor the definitions of the other metres seem to be known to our author except Vānavāsikā and Aparāntikā, the wording of the definitions of which, however, materially differs from that of Jinaprabha's definitions. It is, however, to be noted that Jinaprabha's definitions employ the peculiar Paribhāṣā of our work, mentioned above. It has therefore to be assumed that Jinaprabha quoted these verses from another work using the same Paribhāṣā as the Kavidarpaṇa. Nor were such works wanting. Chandaḥkandalī, from which our commentator profusely quotes, uses this same Paribhāṣā. It is again impossible to imagine that Jinaprabha composed the definitions of the various metres in the Stava from the Stava itself; for he often corrects the older readings of the Stava in favour of new ones in order that the stanza might not have a defective metre. It is, therefore, clear that he derived the knowledge of these metres not from the Stava itself, but from a work on metres which used the Paribhāṣā employed by the Kavidarpaṇa. Our assumption, indeed, is not free from objections since Jinaprabha in his Praśasti distinctly says that he gave the definitions of the metres *mainly* (Prāyeṇa) depending upon the Kavidarpaṇa. But it is, I believe, too much to suppose that our Kavidarpaṇa had two versions and that the one known to Jinaprabha contained these definitions. From the book itself as it is before us now, there is no room to suppose that a few dozen verses have been dropped by the scribes. Certainly there do not appear to be any gaps in our work.

6 The work contains six chapters in all. In the first are given the five Mātrāgaṇas with their definitions and the eight Varṇagaṇas as also the letters which are short or long, either naturally or by position, and finally the theory and practice of the Yati or Caesura. In explaining the last topic, the commentator makes

a very interesting and important remark regarding the employment of Yati in the Sanskrit metres. He says that the Yati is not regarded as compulsory even in Sanskrit metres according to such writers as Māṇḍavya, Bharata, Kāśyapa, and Saivata. Only Jayadeva and Piṅgala consider Yati as essential. I have also shown elsewhere, (cf. J. B. B. R. A. S. 1932, p. 2) that all these writers are very old and that even Virahāṅka, the author of the Vṛttajātisamuccaya, followed these ancient authorities in not recognizing the Yati in the Sanskrit metres. The author of the Kavidarpaṇa, on the other hand, seems to recognize Yati in the Sanskrit metres (cf, I. 7-8.) as is clear from the illustrations given here by the commentator, who however records the optional opinion and quotes Svayambhū in support. Svayambhū is a writer on Prākṛta metres and an incomplete Ms. of his work exists in the Library of the Oriental Institute of Baroda.

7 In the second chapter of the work, Mātrāvṛttas are treated and the author shows some originality in the treatment. He groups them under 11 heads according to the number of lines occurring in a stanza of the particular metre. Thus he begins with a Dvipadī i. e. a metre with two lines, and ends with the Ṣoḍaśapadī i. e. a metre with 16 lines. Among these, the Dvipadī, Catuṣpadī, Pañcapadī, Ṣaṭpadī, and Aṣṭapadī metres consist of a single stanza each ; while the rest i. e. Saptapadī, Navapadī, Daśapadī, Ekādaśapadī, Dvādaśapadī and the Ṣoḍaśapadī metres are always made up of two or three single stanzas in different metres strophically combined. These strophes are a peculiarity of the Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa poems, especially the latter. They owe their origin as much to the idea of variety and ornamentation as to the necessity of finishing an incomplete sentence. Such strophes are indeed found in Vedic poetry, but the freedom with which they are composed is characteristic of Prākṛta and particularly of Apabhraṁśa poetry. To proceed with the subject matter of the second chapter, the author defines and illustrates only three varieties of a Dvipadī. These are the two Ullālakas and the Mauktikadāma (II. 2, 3). The two Ullālakas, i. e. Kuṅkuma and Karpūra, contain 27 and 28 Mātrās respectively in each of their two lines, the Yati occurring after the 15th Mātrā ; while the line of a Mauktikadāma contains 32 Mātrās with the

Yati after the 12th and 20th Mātrās. For a further discussion of the Ullālaka metre, cf. 'Apabhraṁśa metres, paras 11-12, in the Journal, University of Bombay, November, 1933.

8 Under the Catuṣpadī, the author naturally gives the first place to the Gāthā. He defines and illustrates the different varieties of a Gāthā like Pathyā, Capalā, Vipulā and others, as also the metres which are derived from the Gāthā by a slight modification, such as Gīti, Upagīti, and others (II. 4-13). For all these, cf. my Gāthālakṣaṇa of Nanditāḍhya, Intro. paras 3-6 in the Annals, B. O. R. I., 1933. The author next defines a few Ardhasama Vṛttas like Pañcānanalalitā, Malayamāruta, Dohaka with all its derivatives and the Māgadhikā (II. 14-18). The first of these contains 12 and 10, the second 9 and 10, the third normally 13 and 11, while the fourth contains 14 and 16 Mātrās respectively in their odd and even Pādas. Our author gives five derivatives of the third, i. e. Dohaka, which, are respectively called Avadohaka, Upadohaka, Saṁdohaka, Uddohaka, and Cūḍāladohaka. They contain 11 & 13, 12 & 11, 15 & 11, 13 & 13 and 13 and 14 Mātrās in order, in their odd and even lines. Among these, the Avadohaka is called Soraṭṭha by both Ck. and Pp.; Saṁdohaka is the same as Ck.'s Udgāthaka, while the Cūḍāladohaka is similar to the Cūlikā of Ck, and Pp.; cf. 'Apabhraṁśa metres,' para 23. Hemacandra treats the first three of these metres, i. e. Pañcānanalalitā, Malayamāruta and Dohaka, under the Antarasamā Catuṣpadī Ghattā; cf. Hemacandra, p. 39b, line 13, p. 41b, line 13, and p. 42a, line 7ff. His Dohā slightly differs from the Dohā of our author, Ck. and Pp. It contains 14 and 12 Mātras in the odd and even lines. But this difference is really nominal, since the last letter of every line can optionally be regarded as yielding 1 or 2 Mātrās according to necessity. The five derivatives of the Dohaka or Dohā given by Kavidarpaṇa are also given by Hemacandra under the Catuṣpadī Ghattā, but with different names, i. e. Vibhramavilasitavadana (p. 40a, l. 11), Makaradhvajahāsa (p. 41b, l. 20), Kusumakulamadhukara (p. 42a, l. 1), Madanavilāsa (p. 42a, l. 2), and Abhinavamṛgāṅkalekhā (p. 40b, l. 3) respectively. His Upadohaka (p. 42a, l. 7)is one more derivative of the Dohaka, containing 13 and 12 Mātrās in the odd and even lines. In this connection it is noteworthy that Hemacandra assigns

a very subordinate position to the Dohaka, while he devotes a separate chapter to describe the Mātrā and its derivatives. Ck. Pp. and Kavidarpaṇa, on the other hand, almost neglect the Mātrā, but give prominence to the Dohaka and its derivatives. The reason is that probably the Mātrā, the older among the Apabhraṁśa metres, had fallen into disuse after Hemacandra, its place being taken by the comparatively newer Dohaka. At any rate, the Dohaka, though known to Virahāṅka, (cf. 'Apabhraṁśa metres,' para 28) does not yet seem to have been employed on a large scale before Hemacandra. Māgadhikā is the next metre. Its odd and even lines contain 14 and 16 Mātrās respectively. It was originally a Mātrāvṛtta, but restrictions regarding the nature of the letters in the *last six Mātrās* of each Pāda came to be introduced later on. Here, the 1st and the 4th Mātrās *must* be represented by a *short* letter. This metre is the same as the Vaitālīya, but it gets this name when it is composed in the Māgadhī language, and naturally by the bards of Magadha, where we get la for ra and śa for sa; cf. Vṛttajātisamuccaya, IV. 28 (J. B. B. R. A. S. 1929, p. 58). Māgadhikā is defined by Hemacandra under the Sk. metres in the Vaitālīya Prakaraṇa, (p. 25a, l. 3ff.) and also under the Pk. metres in the midst of the Catuṣpadī Ghattās with the name of Vasantalekhā (p. 40b, l. 10). In the latter place, no restrictions regarding the nature of letters are enjoined though they are actually observed in the illustration.

9 Hereafter follow 11 metres, each of the four lines of which contains 16 Mātrās, though its internal structure is different, being made with different Mātrāgaṇas. These Mātrāgaṇas are to be kept syllabically separate, which means that a long letter must not occur at the junction of two such Gaṇas, to represent the last Mātrā of a previous Gaṇa and the first Mātrā of a succeeding Gaṇa together; or in other words, each Gaṇa must begin with a fresh letter whether short or long; cf. also 'Apabhraṁśa metres, para 13. Among the 11 metres mentioned above, the first 6 are not pure Mātrāvṛttas (II. 19–20), since there are restrictions regarding the quantity of letters to be employed laid down in their case. Thus in the Mātrāsamaka, the 9th Mātrā must be represented by a short letter and the last two Mātrās by a long one. In Viśloka, 5th and 8th, in Citrā, 5th, 8th and 9th, and in

Vānavāsikā again, 9th and 12th Mātrās are represented by a short letter, while a long letter occurs for the 9th and the 10th Mātrās in the lines of Upacitrā. The stanza of the Pādākulaka on the other hand, is made up of four lines of any of these five metres. In all these six metres, a Jagaṇa (a group of 4 Mātrās made with a long letter preceded and followed by a short letter) must be avoided at the beginning of a line. Hemacandra treats these six metres along with the Vaitālīya and its derivatives among the Sanskrit Mātrāvṛttas; cf. Hemacandra, p. 25a, l 15ff. But our author is probably right in regarding these as Prākṛta metres since, as a rule, a Mātrāvṛtta is a Prākṛta metre and a Varṇavṛtta is a Sanskrit metre, cf. 'Apabhraṁśa metres, paras 2-3.

10 The next 5 metres with 16 Mātrās in a line are;—'Muktāvalikā, Vadana, Maḍilā, Aḍilā, and Pazzaṭikā (II. 21-22). All these are pure Mātrāvṛttas except the last, where the 1st and the 3rd Caturmātrās must not be of the Jagaṇa type, i. e. the 2nd and the 3rd as also the 10th and the 11th Mātrās must not be combined into a long letter. The purpose of this restriction is musical as is shown by me in 'Apabhraṁśa metres,' para 18. The line of a Pazzaṭikā is made with 4 Caturmātrās. Those of Muktāvalikā and Vadana are made with the Gaṇas of 3, 3, 3, 3, 4, and 6, 4, 4, 2 Mātrās respectively. The lines of Maḍilā and Aḍilā are constructed exactly like the lines of a Vadana. The difference between the three, however, is that in Vadana there is no rhyme at all, in Maḍilā there is one common rhyme for all the four lines, while in the Aḍilā there are two different rhymes for the two halves. For all these cf. Hemacandra, p. 31b, l. 3; p. 37a, l. 15; p. 37a, l. 19-20; and p. 26b, l. 6. As regards the restrictions in the case of Pazzaṭikā they are necessary according to Hemacandra, only when the metre is emyloyed in Sanskrit; cf. p. 43a, l. 9-10.

11 Kavidarpaṇa gives 10 more metres (II. 22-26) under the Catuṣpadī. They are (I) Khaṇḍa with 13 Mātrās in a line (4, 4, 5); (II) Madanāvatāra with 20 (5, 5, 5, 5); (III) Galitaka with 21 (5, 5. 4, 4, 3); (IV) Khañjaka with 23 (3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 3, 2); (V) Rāsaka with 23 (4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 1, 2); (VI) Candralekhā with 24 (6, 4, 4, 4, 4, 2); (VII) Dvipadī with 28 (6, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 2); (VIII) Rāsāvalaya with 21 (6, 4, 6, 5); (IX) Vastuka or Vastuvadanaka with 24 (6, 4, 4, 4, 6); (X) Utsāha with 24 (4, 4, 4, 4,

4, 4,). The Ist, IInd, IIIrd and the IVth of these are pure Mātrā-vṛttas, while the rest are of the mixed type, having restrictions regarding the letters to be employed in them. All the ten metres are defined by Hemacandra; cf. pp. 31b/16; 33b/2; 30a/11; 31b/11; 35b/2; 32b/6; 32a/15; 37a/9; 37a/1; and 35a/16. This brings us to the end of the Catuṣpadī.

12 Under the Pañcapadī, we get only one metre i. e. the Mātrā (II. 27-28). All its varieties are enumerated by the commentator who quotes from the Chandaḥkandalī for the definitions; cf. also Hemacandra, p. 36a/8ff. and 'Apabhraṁśa metres,' para 28. Among the Ṣaṭpadī metres (II. 29-33), the author gives (I) the Ghattā with its principal divisions which are six in number; they respectively contain in the three lines of each of their two halves 10, 8, 13; 12, 8, 13; 8, 8, 11; 10, 8, 11; 12, 8, 11; 12, 8, 12 Mātrās. The commentator remarks that the six divisions are merely illustrative, and quotes Hemacandra, p. 38b/8ff., though he refers to the Chandaḥkandalī as his authority for the information; (II) the Kīrtidhavala, whose halves contain three lines each, having 14 (6, 6, 2), 8 (4, 4), and 16 (6, 6, 4) Mātrās respectively; cf. Hemacandra, p. 37b/12ff. The commentator even here almost reproduces Hemacandra, p. 37b/16ff., but quotes the Chandaḥkandalī as his authority; (III) the strophe formed by the combination of a stanza in the Vastuka or similar metre and another in the Ullālaka metre. The first has four lines while the second has two; they thus form a Ṣaṭpadī. The strophe is called the Kāvya or Sārdhacchandas. As further illustrations of this strophe, the commentator wholly reproduces, without mentioning, Hemacandra, p. 34a/9 to p. 34b/9. Saptapadī is nothing but a combination of a Mātrā and an Ullālaka (II. 33), the former having 5 and the latter 2 Pādas. This particular combination which is technically called Phulla, is not found in Hemacandra under the Dvibhaṅgīs, where it is expected, and the commentator quotes from Manoratha in support of the author. The Aṣṭapadī (II. 34-35) is either (I) the Śrīdhavala, cf. Hemacandra, p. 37b/5; or (II) the Tarala, which is a strophe formed by a Dohaka and a Saṁdohaka; or (III) any other strophe formed by two metres of four lines each, E. g. Vastuka and Dohaka, or Dohaka and Vastuvadana, or Dvipadī and Gīti. Such strophes are technically

called Dvibhaṅgīs. Only one metre is given under the Navapadī. It is the Raḍḍā also called Vastu (II. 35). It is formed by a Mātrā and a Dohaka or one of its derivatives. Cf. Hemacandra, p. 36b/15ff. The Daśapadī is formed by the combination of a Dohaka and a Ghattā (II. 36) and is a Dvibhaṅgī, i, e. a metre with two parts (bhaṅgas). The Ekādaśapadī is a Tribhaṅgī i. e, a strophe formed by the three metres viz. Ullālaka, Mātrā and and Dohaka (II. 36). The Dvādaśapadī is similarly a Tribhaṅgī formed by two Khaṇḍas and a Gīti, or by a Dvipadī, a Khaṇḍa and a Gīti, or also a Dvibhaṅgī fromed by two Ghattās (II. 36–37). The first of these three is technically known as the Dvipadīkhaṇḍa. Hemacandra gives all such strophic metres under the general name Śīrṣaka; cf. p. 33b/15ff. The last of all is the Ṣoḍaśapadī (II. 37), usually known as the Kaḍavaka. It contains 16 lines, and consists of four stanzas in the Pazzaṭikā metre, or any other similar metre. This rule which is also known to Hemacandra, p. 38a/13, is however rarely observed by the Apabhraṁśa poets. They indeed employ the Pazzaṭikā, Madanāvatāra or even the Varṇavṛttas at times, for their Kaḍavas, but they generally disregard the rule concerning the number of lines in a Kaḍavaka as laid down here. As a matter of fact, they form their Kaḍavas with any number of *couplets*, and not *quartets* as is expected according to this rule, with the result that the number of lines which they employ is divisible by two and not by four. Here ends the second chapter and with it what is of importance and interest to the student of the Prākṛtas.

13 The third chapter merely enumerates the three main divisions of a Varṇavṛtta which as a rule, is a Sanskṛt metre:- the Sama, Ardhasama and Viṣama. The Sama is of 26 kinds according as it contains from 1 to 26 letters in each of its four lines. Those Sama Vṛttas which contain more than 26 letters in their Pāda are called Daṇḍakas. The enumeration of the 26 Jātis as they are called, brings this short chapter to a close. The next i. e. the fourth chapter contains the definitions and illustrations (both in the same line), of a few varieties of each of these 26 Jātis. The author's list of these is in no way complete. He gives about 100 in all, while Hemacandra gives 286, exclusive of the Daṇḍakas. The Samavṛttas are followed by the Ardhasama and

the Viṣama Vṛttas in the same chapter. Of the former, only 8 varieties are given, and of the latter, only 14, inclusive of the ten forms of the Anuṣṭubh. In the fifth chapter the mixed metres (Ubhayacchandas) i. e. metres which are partly Varṇavṛttas and partly Mātrāvṛttas are treated. They are 11 in number, and begin with the Vaitālīya. It should be noted here, that similar metres are already given by our author under the Catuṣpadī Mātrāvṛttas. They are Mātrāsamaka and others. Hemacandra, consistently though I believe wrongly, treats all these in one place under the Sanskrit Mātrāvṛttas; cf. p. 23b/9ff. The sixth is a very small chapter containing only three verses which merely mention the six Pratyayas. I have described them at length in my introduction to the Vṛttajātisamuccaya, chapters. V–VI, in J. B. B. R. A. S. 1932.

14 In this manner, the Kavidarpaṇa defines 52 Prākṛta metres, out of which 24 are Samavṛttas, 15 are Ardhasamavṛttas and 13 are Strophes. This certainly does not exhaust the Pk. metres, but obviously the author of Kavidarpaṇa never aimed at defining *all* the Pk. metres. He merely selected a few prominent ones, evidently because they were actually in use at his time and defined them. His treatment of these metres must be regarded as reflecting the actual practice of the Pk. poets regarding them and not merely their theory.

15 Among the metres defined here, it will be observed that the strophic metres play an important part. All of them except Raḍḍa (Mātrā and Dohaka), Kāvya or Sārdhacchandas (Vastuka and Ullāla) and Kuṇḍalika (Vastuka and Dohaka) are new and different from the 7 such metres described in 'Apabhraṁśa Metres, para 29. Their constituent factors nevertheless, are almost the same, as is very natural. It will be found that in the 13 strophic metres, the principal part is played by the Mātrā, Ullālaka, Dohaka and Ghattā with all their varieties and derivatives, though the help of Vastuka or Vastuvadana (24 x 4), Rāsāvalaya (21 x 4), Dvipadī (28 x 4), Khaṇḍa (13 x 4) and Gīti is also sought. These latter are surely secondary in importance and almost play the part of a foil or a canvass. Now Mātrā, Ullālaka, Dohaka and Ghattā are all of them principally the Apabhraṁśa metres and hence it may be safely assumed that the strophic

metres in which prominence is given to these were originally the metres of Apabhraṁśa poetry. In the beginning of the second decade of the Christian Era, Apabhraṁśa poetry was gradually gaining ground and already by the time when Hemacandra wrote his Chandonuśāsana, it had established its claim to be treated with respect along with Sk. and Pk. poetry. It is therefore, not unnatural to suppose, that at the time of Kavidarpaṇa, Apabhraṁśa poetry and metres were in full swing and that many of the older Pk. metres had fallen into disuse and were known merely from older works. Our Kavidarpaṇa, being intended to serve as 'a mirror to poets,' rightly selected the then popular metres which were mostly Apabhraṁśa metres, including the strophes. It is for this same reason also, that most of the simple metres described by Kavidarpaṇa are Apabhraṁśa metres.

16 Even the peculiar classification of the Pk. metres in the Kavidarpaṇa seems to confirm the conclusion reached above at the end of para 14. They are classified, as we saw, not according to the language in which they are written, but according to the number of lines occurring in each of them. Out of the 11 heads under which they are classified, as many as 8 are assigned to strophes alone. Thus after Satpadī, almost all of them are strophes. We get only two simple metres under Satpadī and only one under the Aṣṭapadī. This can only mean that our author was anxious to assign a prominent place to the strophes among his metres, and to treat them on the same level with the simple metres. Thus the preponderance of the Apabhraṁśa metres and particularly of the Apabhraṁśa strophes among the Pk. metres defined and illustrated by the Kavidarpaṇa as also the prominent place assigned to them in the classification indicate without doubt, that the Kavidarpaṇa was not intended to be a comprehensive and scientific treatise on Pk. metres but was composed only as a practical guide to popular poets in respect of metres.

17 One is indeed struck with the great difference between Hemacandra and the author of Kavidarpaṇa in the method of the treatment of their subject. The former carefully enumerates, defines and classifies all that is known either by tradition or from

practice and is anxious to leave nothing unmentioned. Even if a thing is old and out of vogue, he feels he must mention it, must show his knowledge about it. The latter on the other hand, has an eye on the actual practice of the bards and is somewhat careless and negligent in the selection and arrangement of his materials. He chooses and describes only those metres which were in vogue at his time and is unmindful of the omission of metres which then existed only in theory or in works of ancient writers. This attitude of our author explains why he does not define all Pk. metres like Hemacandra and why he does not classify them according to language. He is practical and not pedantic like Hemacandra, whose thorough-going analysis of his subject is quite in keeping with his learning and fame as a Pandit. Hemacandra rightly calls his work Chandonuśāsana, i. e., 'Teachings on metres'. It contains an up-to-date information on metres whether old or new, whether Sk., Pk. or Apabhraṁśa, whether in vogue or out of vogue. It is a scientific treatise, resembling his Śabdānuśāsana and Kāvyānuśāsana and the author is for that reason prevented from making a selection of metres based on the practice of the bards, for his treatment. It is on this assumption alone that the assignment of a secondary place to the strophic metres by Hemacandra can be properly explained. He groups them all under the common title Śīrṣaka. A calculating Pandit as he was, he probably argued that when the individual metres forming the strophes were defined and described each in its own place, there really was no necessity of describing their various combinations in particular. He therefore illustrated a few of such combinations to show how they are formed and leaves us to help ourselves in the matter of the remaining ones. In short, the aim of Kavidarpaṇa is to be of practical use, while that of the Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra is to be scientific and exhaustive.

श्रीकविदर्पणे प्रथमोद्देशः।

[N. B. —Ms. begins with सीति चेन्न, V. 1. is constructed from the commentary. The Sanskrit rendering of the Prakrit stanzas is by the editor, and hence enclosed within brackets.]

पणमिअ अरिहंतगुरुं वोच्छामि अणुग्गहात्थमबुहाणं ।
इह पाइअभासाए छंदं तिविहं जहासत्थं ॥ १ ॥
[प्रणम्यार्हन्तं गुरुं वक्ष्येऽनुग्रहार्थमबुधानाम् ।
इह प्राकृतभाषया छन्दस्त्रिविधं यथाशास्त्रम् ॥ १ ॥]

सीति चेन्न । यतः सर्वमेवार्हदुपज्ञं जगति शास्त्रं यदाह–

सुनिश्चितं नः परतन्त्रयुक्तिषु स्फुरन्ति याः काश्चन सूक्तसंपदः ।
तवैव ताः पूर्वमहार्णवोद्भुता जगत्प्रमाणं जिनवाक्यविप्रुषः ॥ १ ॥

गुरुस्त्विष्टो विद्याधर्माद्याचार्यो । किं प्रवक्ष्ये चन्दनाह्लादनाच्छन्दः पद्यं जातावेकवचनम् । तद्द्विधा । वैदिकं लौकिकं च । तत्र काव्यानुपयोगित्वाद्वैदिकमुपेक्ष्य लौकिकमाहतम् । त्रिविधं मात्रावर्णोभयभेदात् । मात्राच्छन्दो वर्णच्छन्द उभयच्छन्द इति । मात्राच्छन्दः कुङ्कुमादि । वर्णच्छन्द उक्तादि । उभयच्छन्दो वैतालीयादि । यच्छूरः—

शंभुं नत्वा गिरमनु ततः पिङ्गलं नागनाथं
वर्णमात्राप्रभवमुभयं वैदिकं लौकिकं च ।
शूरो व्यासान्नवगणगणं लक्षणाभिन्नलक्ष्यं
छन्दश्छन्दोनिपुणहृदयानन्ददायि ब्रवीति ॥ १ ॥

किं स्वबुध्या । नेत्याह । यथाशास्त्रं प्राच्यच्छन्दोनुसारात् । यद्येवं प्राच्यैरेव पर्याप्तं किमनेन प्रयासेनेत्याह । अनुग्रहार्थमुपकारहेतोरबुधानामाबालबालिशानामत एव सर्वोपकारिप्राकृतभाषया प्रसिद्धोपयोगिकतिपयच्छन्दोरूपसारोद्धारोयम् । मात्राच्छन्दसि च सुखप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं गाथाच्छन्दसा सोदाहरणं लक्षणमुक्तमितरयोस्तु लाघवार्थं लक्ष्यलक्षणाभ्यामुपन्यास इति । तत्र मात्रागणानाह–

नेया मत्ताच्छंदे दुतिचउपंचछकला गणा पंच ।
दुतिपंचअट्ठतेरसभेइल्ला कचटतपनामा ॥ २ ॥
[ज्ञेया मात्राच्छन्दसि द्वित्रिचतुःपञ्चषट्कला गणाः पञ्च
द्वित्रिपञ्चाष्टत्रयोदशभेदवन्तः कचटतपनामानः ॥ २ ॥]

मात्राच्छन्दसि कचटतपनामानः पञ्चगणा ज्ञेयाः । ते च यथासंख्यं द्वित्रिचतुःपञ्चषट्कलाः द्वित्रिपञ्चाष्टत्रयोदशभेदवन्तः । 'आल्विल्लोल्लालवन्तमन्तत्तेरमणामतो'रिति (हे० ८·२·१५९) वतः स्थाने इल्लः । कला तन्मात्रा । द्विकलो द्विभेदः कगणः ॥; ऽ; त्रिकलस्त्रिभेदश्चगणः ।ऽ; ऽ।; ।।।; चतुष्कलः पञ्चभेदस्तगणः ऽऽ; ॥ऽ; ।ऽ।; ऽ॥; ।।।।; पञ्चकलोष्टभेदस्तगणः ।ऽऽ; ऽ।ऽ; ।।।ऽ; ऽऽ।; ॥ऽ।; ।ऽ॥; ऽ।।।; ।।।।;

षट्कलत्रयोदशभेदः पगणः SSS; ॥SS; ।S।S; S॥S; ॥॥S; ।SS। S।S।; ॥।S।; SS॥ ॥S॥; ।S॥; S॥॥; ॥॥॥.

वर्णगणानाह—

वनच्छंदे उण हुंति सव्वमुहमज्झअंतगुरुलहुणो ।
कमसो मना भया तह जरा सता नाम अट्ठ तिगे ॥ ३ ॥

[वर्णच्छन्दांसि पुनर्भवन्ति सर्वमुखमध्यान्तलघुगुरवः ।
क्रमशो मनौ भयौ तथा जरौ सतौ नामाष्टौ त्रिकाः ॥ ३ ॥]

वर्णच्छन्दांसि पुनर्भवन्ति गणाः । किंसंज्ञाः । मनौ भयौ जरौ सतौ नाम । किंकिंरूपौ सर्वमुखमध्यान्तगुरुलघवः कमसो यथाक्रमं कोर्थः । सर्वगुरुलघू मनौ । मुखगुरुलघू भयौ । मध्यगुरुलघू जरौ । अन्तगुरुलघू सतौ । लाघवेन लक्षणं निर्वक्तुं द्वौद्वावुक्तौ 'मयरसभजतन' इति मूलक्रमश्च लङ्घितः । सर्वेपि ते कतीत्याह । अष्ट । चतुर्गुर्वादिनामपि माभून्मादिसंज्ञा इति नियमार्थमाह— तिगत्ति । त्रिकात्रयः प्रमाणमेषामिति त्रिकाः । प्राकृतत्वात् यस्थाने ग उक्तः । मना इत्यादिषु द्विवचनस्य बहुवचनं जस् । तहत्ति च्छन्दःपूरणे । सर्वेषां न्यासः SSS मः । ॥। नः । S॥ भः । ।SS यः । ।S। जः । S।S रः । ॥S सः । SS। तः । उभयच्छन्दस्तु मात्रावर्णच्छन्दःसंकर इति न तत्र पृथग्गणा इति ।

गुरुलघ्वत्राह—

दीहं सबिंदुवंजणविसग्गसंजोगपरमिह दुमत्तं ।
वंकं गरु इयरं लहु वा पायंते इमंपि गुरु ॥ ४ ॥

[दीर्घं साबिन्दु व्यञ्जनविसर्गसंयोगपरमिह दुमात्रम् ।
वक्रं गुर्वितरल्लघु वा पादान्त इदमपि गुरु ॥ ४ ॥]

दीर्घं आईऊॠएऐओऔरूपम् । साबिन्दु सानुस्वारम् । व्यञ्जनविसर्गसंयोगाः परे यस्मात्तत् व्यञ्जनपरं विसर्गपरं संयोगपरमक्षरमिह च्छन्दासि गुरुसंज्ञं ज्ञेयम् । विसर्गपदात् जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयावपि । तदादेशत्वात्तयोः । तच्च गुरु द्विमात्रं प्रस्तारे तु वक्रं S उकाराकृति स्थाप्यम् । इतरद्गुरोर्विपरीतं ह्रस्वमबिन्दुकमव्यञ्जनविसर्गसंयोगपरं त्रिमात्रिकं प्रस्तारे ऋजु लघुसंज्ञम् । वेति व्यवस्थितविभाषा । तेन समानिकादौ पादान्ते यो लघुर्विहितः स न गुरुः । वंशस्थकादौ च पादान्ते लघोर्न गुरुत्वं यदाह—

वंशस्थकादिचरणान्तनिवेशितस्य
गत्वं लघोर्नहि तथा श्रुतिशर्मदायि ।
श्रोतुर्वसन्ततिलकादि पदान्तवर्ति-
लो गत्वमत्र विहितं विबुधैर्यथा तत् ॥ १ ॥

दीर्घसबिन्दुसंयोगपराणां सार्धगात्या गुरुत्वापवादं शेषार्धेन तु पादलक्ष्म संज्ञाश्चाह—

एउंहिं पयए उंहुंहिंहं लहू अवब्भंसे ।
वा पयअंते वंजणगयएओ उण पयस्स मज्झेवि ॥ ५ ॥
इल्हण्हपमुहवण्णाण पुव्विला नो गुरू जहादिट्ठं ।
तुरियंसो अविसेसे पाओ; चंदाइसन्नमेगाई ॥ ६ ॥
[एउंहिं प्राकृते; उंहुंहिंहं लघवोऽपभ्रंशे ।
वा पदान्ते, व्यञ्जनगत'एओ' पुनः पदस्य मध्येपि ॥ ५ ॥
इल्ह-ण्ह-प्रमुखवर्णानां पूर्वस्था न गुरवो यथादृष्टम् ।
तुरीयांशोऽविशेषे पादश्चन्द्रादिसंज्ञमेकादि ॥ ६ ॥

आद्यगीतौ 'वा पयअंते' 'लहु'त्ति सर्वत्र योज्यम् । तेन एउंहिंहिं इत्येते पाययशब्दस्य 'वाव्ययोत्खातादावदात' (हे० ८·१·६७) इति ह्रस्वत्वे पयए प्राकृतभाषायां पदान्ते वर्तमाना लघवो वा स्युर्यथा—

तक्कालं निक्किव तीइ तुज्झ विरहाउ जाइं जायाइं ।
तरिंति ताइं न दुहाइं दियहकोडीहिं वि कहेउं ॥ १ ॥
[तत्कालं निष्कृप तस्यास्तव विरहायानि जातानि ।
तीर्यन्ते तानि न दुःखानि दिवसकोटिभिरपि कथयितुम् ॥ १ ॥]

उंहुंहिंहं इत्येते चापभ्रंशभाषायां पदान्ते लघवो वा स्युर्यथा—

उग्गमु तहिं मरुमग्गडह । तसहुं पसंस्उं ताहं ॥
पहियहं हियडा उत्तरह । जम्मुवि जाहं न च्छाहं ॥ २ ॥

[× × ×
× + ×]

व्यञ्जनेषु कादिषु गतौ स्थितौ न तु केवलौ 'एओ' इत्येतौ पुनरपभ्रंशे पदान्ते पद-मध्येपि लघू वा स्यातां यथा—

कत्थवि भुल्लइ सुरगुरुवि । कहीं गुअ-लुवि होइ पगिट्ठउ ॥
एकंतिण कुइ सव्वगुणु । अहवा निग्गुणु लोइ न दिट्ठउ ॥ ३ ॥
[कुत्रापि स्खलति सुरगुरुरपि । कदा गोपालोपि भवति प्रकृष्टः ॥
एकान्तेन कोपि सर्वगुणः । अथवा निर्गुणो लोके न दृष्टः ॥ ३ ॥

तथार्थात्प्राकृते 'इल्ल-ण्ह' इत्येतेषां वर्णानां पूर्वस्मिन्भवा 'डिल्लडुल्लौ भव' (हे० ८·२·१६३) इति इल्ले पुव्विल्ला लघवो गुरवो न स्युर्यथा—

परिल्हसियपंकतन्हादाहदुहा बीयराय सहसत्ति ।
जायम्ह दंसणे तुम्ह नाह न्हायव्व अमयद्दहे ॥ ४ ॥

[परिहसितपङ्कतृष्णादाहदुःखाः वीतराग सहसेति ।
जाता वयं दर्शने युष्माकं नाथ स्नाता इवामृतह्रदे ॥ ४ ॥]

प्रमुखशब्दात्संस्कृते ह्रादिसंग्रहो 'जहादिट्ठ'मिति पदं चानुयोज्यम् । तेन यथादृष्टं लक्ष्यानुरोधात् संस्कृते ह्रादिपूर्वगा न गुरवो यथा—

स्पृष्टं त्वयेत्यपह्रियः खलु कीर्तयन्ति । तथा—

तव ह्रियापह्रियो मम ह्रीरभूच्छशिग्रहेपि द्रुतं न धृता ततः ।
बहलभ्रामरमेचकतामसं मम प्रिये क्व समेष्यति तत्पुनः ॥ १ ॥

धनं प्रदानेन श्रुतेन विद्याम् ॥

लीलासिताब्जमुत दर्पणमातपत्रं किं दन्तपत्रमथ किं शुकमौलिरत्नम् ।
किं चामरं तिलकबिन्दुरथेन्दुबिम्बमेतद्विवो निह्नुतदीप्ति मुदे न कस्य ॥ २ ॥

इति । तुर्यश्चतुर्थो भागश्छन्दसः पादाख्यः । किं सर्वत्र । नेत्याह । अविशेषे सामान्याभिधाने । द्विपदीपञ्चपद्यादिषु तु द्वितीयार्धंशोपि पादः । अनेन आशास्त्र-समाप्तेः पादाधिकारः सूचितः । एवं च्छन्दोधिकारोपि । तथा लोकाचन्द्रादिसंज्ञा-मेकादि ज्ञेयम् । तथा ह्येकश्चन्द्रादि, द्वौ नेत्रादी, त्रयोऽग्न्याद्याश्चत्वारो वेदाद्याः पञ्च भूताद्याः षड् रसाद्याः सप्ताश्वाद्या अष्ट वस्वाद्या नव ग्रहाद्या दश दिगाद्या एका-दश रुद्राद्या द्वादश सूर्याद्यास्त्रयोदश विश्वाद्याश्चतुर्दश मन्वाद्याः पञ्चदश तिथ्याद्याः षोडश नृपाद्याः एवं शब्दा अपि ।

यतिं युग्मेनाह—

सुहसुंहविरई अ जई सा पायंतंमि होइ सव्वत्त ।
नियमेण सिलोयद्धे तिपमुहछिन्नप्पयंते य ॥ ७ ॥
पयमज्झेवि हु पुव्वापरभाया एगवन्नया जइ नो ।
नवर इमा कायव्वा पयमज्झजई न पायंते ॥ ८ ॥

[श्रुतिसुखविरतिश्च यतिः सा पादान्ते भवन्ति सर्वत्र ।
नियमेन श्लोकार्धे त्रिप्रमुखच्छिन्नपदान्ते च ॥ ७ ॥
पदमध्येपि खलु पूर्वापरभागौ एकवर्णकौ यदि न ।
केवलमियं कर्तव्या पदमध्ययतिर्न पादान्ते ॥ ८ ॥]

श्रुतिसुखहेतुत्वात्सुखा शर्मकृत् । सा च सा विरतिश्च विश्रान्तिः श्रुतिसुखाविरति-र्यतिसंज्ञा ज्ञेया । सा केत्याह । पादान्ते भवति । कीदृशे । सर्वत्र लुप्तविभक्तिके चालुप्तविभक्तिके च । यथा—

नमः कलिमलस्तोमध्वंसब्रह्मचारिणे ॥ १ ॥
परदोषपुरीषाणि विचिन्वन्तः पदे पदे ।
भ्रमन्त्युच्चैर्भषन्तश्च पिशुनाः शुनका इव ॥ २ ॥

न त्वेवं यथा—

कुलीनाः सरसा सौरभ्यदन्तुरितदिङ्मुखाः ।
नानन्दयन्ति कं चन्दनद्रुमा इव सज्जनाः ॥ १ ॥

सेति सर्वत्रानुवृत्तं तेन सा नियमेन विशेषेण पादद्वयान्ते स्यात् । अत्र च संधिकार्याभावः स्पष्टविभक्तित्वं च नियमो यथा—

नोत्साहं कुर्वते छेकाः प्रशंसाभिरताद्विदाम् ।
अन्धैः स्तुतेषु चित्रेषु प्रकर्षः कोहि शिल्पिनः ॥ १ ॥

अत्रान्धैरित्यस्य पूर्वमकारेण संधिर्न कार्यः । स्पष्टविभक्तित्वं चात्रैव । न त्वेवं यथा—

अमन्दवेदनोत्पादिरागादिगदमण्डली-
मूलोच्छेदमहावैद्यमार्यं जिनमुपास्महे ॥ १ ॥

न केवलं पादान्तश्लोकार्धयोस्त्रिप्रमुखच्छिन्नपदान्ते च । त्रयः प्रमुखाः एषां चतुरादीनां तैश्छिन्नस्य विभक्तस्य पदस्य विभक्त्यन्तस्य चान्ते सा स्थात् । इहापि लुप्तालुप्तविभक्तिके इति ज्ञेयम् । यथा—

उत्तुङ्गस्तनकलशद्वयानताङ्गी । लोलाक्षी विपुलनितम्बशालिनी च ॥

त्रयाणां मध्ये न क्वापि छन्दासि विरतिरिति त्रिप्रमुखेत्युक्तम् । न च पदान्त एव किंतु 'पयमज्झेविहुत्ति' पदमध्येपि क्वचित् त्र्यादौ सा स्यात् । 'हु'रव्ययं निश्चयपरम् । पदस्य खण्ड्यमानस्य पूर्वोऽपरश्च भागश्छेदनेकाक्षरस्तदेवायं यतिनिश्चयो यथा—

रथा रम्या ऐरावणविजयिनी वारणपदा ॥
कूजत्कोयष्टिकोलाहलमुखरभुवः प्रान्तकान्तारदेशाः ॥

नत्वेवं यथा—

एतासां राजाति सुमनसां दाम कण्ठावलम्बि ।

पदमध्ययतिमपवदाति । नवरं केवलार्थेत्यव्ययम् । पदमध्ययतिः पदान्ते नैव । नियमान्न कार्या । यथा—

प्रणमत भवबन्धक्लेशनाशाय नारा-
यणचरणसरोजद्वन्द्वमानन्दहेतुम् ॥

एतदर्थसंवादिश्लोकौ यथा—

यतिः सर्वत्र पादान्ते श्लोकार्धे तु विशेषतः ।
त्र्यादिच्छिन्नपदान्ते च लुप्तालुप्तविभक्तिके ॥ १ ॥
क्वचित्तु पदमध्येपि गकारादौ यतिर्भवेत् ।
यतिपूर्वापरौ भागौ न स्यातामेव्वर्णकौ ॥ २ ॥

इदं च श्रुतिसुखविरतिश्चेति चकाराज्ज्ञेयम् —

*पूर्वान्तवत्स्वरः संधौ क्वचिदेव परादिवत् ।

योयं पूर्वापरयोरेकादेशः स्वरः संधौ क्रियते स क्वचित्पूर्ववत्स्यात् । क्वचित्परादिवत्स्यात् । उभयादेशत्वात् । यथा पित्रोः पुत्रः पितुश्च मातुश्च भवति । तत्र पूर्वान्तवद्भावो यथा—

स्यादस्थानोपगतयमुनासंगमेनाभिरामा ॥

परादिद्भावो यथा—

स्कन्धे विन्ध्याद्रिबुध्या निकषति महिषस्याहितोसूनकार्षीत् ॥

अत्र हि स्वरस्य परादिवद्भावे व्यञ्जनमपि तद्भक्तत्वात्तद्वत् ।

*द्रष्टव्यो यतिचिन्तायां यायादेशः परादिवत् ॥

यवायादेशः परादिवद्दृष्टो यथा—

तमोलीढानि भुवनान्यव्याद्भव्याय भास्करः ।
उन्मादिवादिकुमुदेष्वास्यमुद्रां ददाज्जिनः ॥ १ ॥

*नित्यं प्राक्पदसंबद्धाश्चादयः प्राक्पदान्तवत् ।

चादिभ्यः प्राग् यतिर्न कार्या यथा—

स्वादु स्वच्छं च सलिलमिदं प्रीतये कस्य न स्यात् ।

*परेण नित्यसंबद्धाः प्रादयश्च परादिवत् ।

प्रादिभ्यः परा यतिर्न कार्या । यथा—

दुःखं मे प्रक्षिपति हृदये दुःसहस्त्वद्वियोगः ।

किं चानिर्दिष्टयतिकेपि छन्दासि यतिः श्रुतिसुखैव कार्या । नत्वेवं यथा—

दोषानिचयधाम्ना मुखमनोहरस्य परिणामविषमस्य ।
तस्य शशिमुखि-विषयसुखरसस्य पतु कुलिशं शीर्षे ॥ १ ॥

केचित्तूक्तादिषु यतिनियमं न मन्यन्ते । यत्स्वयंभूः—

जयदेवपिंगला सक्कयंमि दुच्चिय जइं समिच्छन्ति ।
मंडव्वभरहकासवसेयवपमुहा न इच्छन्ति ॥ १ ॥
[जयदेवापिङ्गलौ संस्कृते द्वावेव यतिं समिच्छन्ति ।
माण्डव्यभरतकाश्यपसैतवप्रमुखा नेच्छन्ति ॥ १ ॥]

अस्यास्त्वर्थो यथा—उक्तार्थं संस्कृतच्छन्दो रिपुच्छन्दार्थं प्राकृतच्छन्द उत्साहार्थमपभ्रंशं च्छन्दः उक्तम् । प्रायोमीषां तत्तद्भाषासु निबन्धात् । तत्र प्राकृतापभ्रंशच्छन्दसोः सर्वसंमतैव यतिः । संस्कृतच्छन्दासि तु जयदेवपिङ्गलावेवेच्छतो यतिं माण्डव्यभरतकाश्यपसैतवादयस्तु नेच्छन्ति । ततो यद्भग्नयति संस्कृतच्छन्दो दृश्यते तन्मतेन तत्प्रमाणमिह तु शास्त्रे न संस्कृतादिपद्धत्या च्छन्दःसंदर्भः । किंतु लाघवार्थं विशृङ्खल इति ।

इति श्रीकविदर्पणच्छन्दोवृत्तौ प्रथमोद्देशः ।

अथ कविदर्पणे द्वितीयोद्देशः ।

मात्राच्छन्दोऽधुना प्राप्तं च्छन्दोजातिभिः संगृह्णन्नाह—

एकारसजाईओ मत्ताच्छंदे हुवंति एयाओ ।
बिचउसरछसुणिवसुनवदशहररविसोलरूपइत्ति ॥ १ ॥
[एकादशजातयो मात्राच्छन्दासि भवन्त्येताः ।
द्विचतुःशरषण्मुनिवसुनवदशहररविषोडशपद्य इति ॥ १ ॥

एकादश जातयो मात्राच्छन्दासि भवन्त्येताः इत्यन्तरोक्ताः द्विचतुःशरषण्मुनिवसुनवदशहररविषोडशपद्याख्याः । पदीपदं प्रत्येकं ज्ञेयम् । द्विपदी चतुष्पदी पञ्चपदी षट्पदी सप्तपदी अष्टपदी नवपदी दशपदी एकादशपदी द्वादशपदी षोडशपदीत्यर्थ । इति विविक्तार्थो मात्राच्छन्दःसंग्रहार्थः । जातीनामित्थं विवक्ते(?)यं कल्पनेत्यर्थः । नत्वेवं कविहुं फो(?)रस्ति । नवेदमाशास्त्रियम् । पञ्चपदीषट्पद्यष्टपदीनां शास्त्रे व्यक्तोक्तत्वात् । सप्तपदीनवपदीदशपद्येकादशपदीद्वादशपदीनां द्विभङ्गीत्रिभङ्गीत्वात् । षोडशपद्याः कडवकत्वात् । तथा प्रायः सानुप्रासा एता इति ।

तासु द्विपदीं युग्मेनाह—

कदुगं टो कदुगलहू कदुगं टो कदुगदुलहुणो दोसु ।
पाएसु कुंकुमो; तह कप्पूरो एगलघुवुड्ढो ॥ २ ॥
पन्नरसकलाहिं जई, एए उल्लालयत्ति बंदिणं ।
तं मुत्तियदामं जत्थ अट्ठटा; बारसट्ठ जहं ॥ ३ ॥
[कद्विकं टः कद्विकं लघुः कद्विकं टः कद्विकं द्वौ लघू द्वयोः ।
पादयोः कुङ्कुमः; तथा कर्पूर एकलघुवृद्धः ॥ २ ॥
पञ्चदशकलाभिर्यतिरेतावुल्लालकाविति बन्दीनाम् ।
तन्मौक्तिकदाम यत्राष्ट टा द्वादशोष्टमञ्च यतिः ॥ ३ ॥]

द्वौ द्विमात्रावेकश्चतुर्मात्रो द्वौ द्विमात्रावेको लघुद्वौ द्विमात्रावेकश्चतुर्मात्रो द्वौ द्विमात्रौ द्वौ लघू द्वयोः पादयोः कुङ्कुमो द्विपदी । 'ट' इति सिद्धे 'क'द्विक निर्देशो जगणनिरासार्थः । तहत्ति । तथा कुङ्कुमवदेव कर्पूरो द्विपदी । किंत्वेकलघुवृद्धः अन्ते लघुनाधिक इत्यर्थः । पञ्चदशकलाभिरनयोः प्रत्येकं पादद्वये यतिरेतावुल्लालकाविति बन्दीनां भाषासु प्रसिद्धावित्यर्थाज्ज्ञेयम् । कर्पूरकश्च कैश्चिल्लघूष्टकादारभ्य द्विद्विलघुवृध्या पञ्चविंशतिधा प्रोक्तो यथा—

वाहो बोहो वग्गो बंधू बाणो गओ वरो सेसो ।
वेणू वणो वरिट्ठो विबुहो बलिओ बलो वेहओ ॥ १ ॥
कामो बुहो बिसालो विंदो विहुरो विहू वसू विरहो ।
विलओ तहा य विसओ उल्लाला पञ्चविंशत्ति ॥ २ ॥

अट्ठलहुविरइयाओ पढमा उल्लालयंमि छंदंमि ।
लहुएहिं दोहिं दोहिं हुंति इमे वड्ढमाणेहिं ॥ ३ ॥
[अष्टलघुविरचिताः प्रथम उल्लालके च्छन्दासि ।
लघुभ्यां द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यां भवन्तीमे वर्द्धमानाभ्याम् ॥ ३ ॥]

मौक्तिकदाम तु गतार्थम् । अनुप्रासः पाददयस्यार्थादेवेति नोक्तः ॥

उदा०— सुरकुंभिकुंभसिंदूरभरु हरिदिसिकुंकुममंडणु ।
पसइच्छि पिच्छि जोइक्खु जिंव बालायवु तमखंडणु ॥ १ ॥
[सुरकुम्भिकुम्भसिन्दूरभरो हरिदिक्कुङ्कुममण्डनम् ।
प्रसृताक्षि प्रेक्षस्व ज्योतिष्क इव बालातपस्तमःखण्डनः ॥ १ ॥

उदा०— आयंबलोललोयणजुयल उल्लालय जीवियमयण ।
कप्पूरधवल सोहइ सलिलकेलिकालि कामिणिवयण ॥ २ ॥
[आताम्रलोललोचनयुगलं आर्द्रालकं जीवितमदनम् ।
कर्पूरधवलं शोभते सलिलकेलिकाले कामिनिवदनम् ॥ २ ॥]

उल्लालयत्ति 'उदोद्वार्द्र' (हे० ८.१.८२) इत्यार्द्रादेरुति उल्लम् । अलकं प्रतीतम् ।

उदा०— संकलबंधसहोयरं सोहिर मुत्तियदामनिवेसमणोहर ।
वम्महनिवपायडानिहिकलस कवणु न हु मोहइ तरुणिपयोहर ॥३॥
[शृङ्खलाबन्धसहोदरः शोभमानः मौक्तिकदामनिवेशमनोहरः ।
मन्मथनृपप्रकटनिधिकलशः कं न खलु मोहयति तरुणिपयोधरः ॥३॥

स्पष्टम् । एवं चतुःषष्टिभेदास्ते तु विस्तरभयान्नोक्ताः । द्विपदीप्रकरणम् । अथ चतुष्पदीं कुलकेनाह—

मुणिटा गुरु तत्थ न जो विसमे छट्ठे उ मज्झका पढमे ।
बीए उ दलंमि लहू छट्ठे सेसं समं गाहा ॥ ४ ॥
[मुनिष्टा गुरुः; तत्र न जो विषमे; षष्ठे मध्यकौ; प्रथमे ।
द्वितीये तु दले लघुः षष्ठे; शेषं समं गाथा ॥ ४ ॥

सप्त चतुःकला गुरुश्च प्रथमे दले अर्धे । अत्रापवादः । तत्थत्ति । तत्र तेषु सप्तसु विषमे स्थाने प्रथमे तृतीये पञ्चमे सप्तमे न जुत्ति न जगणः । शेषाश्चत्वारः स्युः । षष्ठे पुनर्मज्झकात्ति मध्ये कगणो गुरुर्लघुद्वयं च ययोस्तौ मध्यकौ मध्यगुरुः सर्वलघुः (।ऽ।; ।।।।) । शूरपरिभाषेयं पूज्यप्रयुक्ता सर्वैत्यर्थाज्ज्ञेया । द्वितीये तु दले षष्ठो लघुरेकः । शेषं समं पूर्वार्धवत् यस्यां सा गाथा स्यात् । दलग्रहणादस्यां न पादव्यवस्था । तेन 'द्वीपादन्यस्मादपि' इत्यादौ गणत्रयान्ते लघोर्न गुरुत्वम् । केचिदिहापि पादमुद्रामाद्रियन्ते यत्त्रिलोचनदासः—'वृत्तानामार्यादीनां च चतुर्थो भागः पाद इह गृह्यते' इति । संस्कृते तु गाथैवार्याख्या यथा—

लावण्यसलिलसंकुलघनकुचमण्डलकमण्डलुविलासम् ।
सुतनोर्मदनमहामुनितपोवनं यौवनं जयति ॥

दुइया छट्ठे पढमाउ सत्तमे लाउ कुणह उवलिदले ।
न लहुंमि पंचमे पढमयाउ इह तलदले विरइं ॥ ५ ॥

[द्वितीयात् षष्ठे प्रथमात्सप्तमे लात्कुरुत उपरिदले ।
नलघौ पञ्चमे प्रथमादिह तलदले विरतिम् ॥ ५ ॥

इहत्ति गाथाच्छन्दासि उपरिदले पूर्वार्धे षष्ठे गणे नलहुंमित्ति नगणश्च लघुश्च नलघुस्तस्मिन्नलघौ चतुर्लघौ सति द्वितीयात् 'लाउ' लघोरारभ्य विरतिं कुरुत । षष्ठनलघोरायलघौ यतिरित्यर्थः । लाउत्ति न लहुंमित्ति च सर्वत्र योज्यम् । तत्र सप्तमे नलघौ प्रथमाल्लघोरारभ्य विरतिं कुरुत । षष्ठगणान्ते यतिरित्यर्थः । तथा तलदले द्वितीयार्धे पञ्चमे नलघौ सति प्रथमकाल्लघोरारभ्य विरतिं कुरुत । चतुर्थगणान्ते यतिरित्यर्थः । मात्राच्छन्दस्यपि लाघवार्थं 'ज' 'ल'गणप्रयोगः । इयं प्राचीनगाथा लाघवार्थं लक्ष्यलक्षणयुक्ता कृता ।

गाहागणभेयपरुप्परगुणणे अट्ठकोडि अन्ह लक्खा ।
एकूणवीस; वीस य सहस्स से भेयपरिसंखा ॥ ६ ॥

[गाथागणभेदपरस्परगुणने अष्टौ कोट्योऽथ लक्षाः ।
एकोनविंशतिः; विंशतिश्च सहस्राणि अस्या भेदपरिसंख्या ॥ ६ ॥]

गाथायां दलद्वये गणभेदानां टगणविकल्पानां परस्परगुणने अन्योन्यघाते अष्टौ कोट्य एकोनविंशतिर्लक्षा विंशतिश्च सहस्राणि से अस्या गाथायाः प्रस्तारभेदपरिसंख्या स्यात् । 'वेदं तदेतदोडसामभ्यां सेसिमौः (हे० ८·३·८१) इति इदमाः से आदेशः । कोडी लक्खुत्ति लुप्तविभक्तिके पदे त्वंताथादिषु शब्देषु न पूर्वग इति सर्वत्र नेयमित्यक्षरार्थो भावार्थस्तु पूर्वार्धे प्रथमे टगणे भेदाश्चत्वारो यथा SS; ॥S; S॥; ॥॥; द्वितीये पञ्च SS; ॥S; S॥; ।S।; ॥॥; तृतीये चत्वारः SS; ॥S; S॥; ॥॥; चतुर्थे पञ्च SS; ॥S; S॥; ।S।; ॥॥; पञ्चमे चत्वारः SS; ॥S; S॥; ॥॥; षष्ठे द्वौ ।S।; ॥॥; सप्तमे चत्वारः SS; ॥S; S॥; ॥॥; अष्टमे गुरुरेकः । एतेषामन्योन्यघाते द्वादश सहस्राणि अष्टौ शतानि । एवं तलार्धेपि । नवरं षष्ठे लघुन्येको विकल्पोन्योन्यघाते षट्सहस्राणि चत्वारि शतानि दलद्वयताडने यथोक्तसंख्येति । अतिप्रसिद्धत्वाद्गाथायाः प्रस्तारसंख्योक्ता । शेषाणामप्युक्तवक्ष्यमाणानामनया दिशा ज्ञेया ॥ ६ ॥

दलदुगमुहे तिगणजइ गाहा पत्था; तयन्यहा विउला ।
चवला गुरुपरिखित्तेहिं दुइयतुरिएहिं ज्गणेहिं ॥ ७ ॥

[दलद्विकमुखे त्रिगणयतिर्गाथा पथ्या; तदन्यथा विपुला ।
चपला गुरुपरिक्षिप्तैः द्वितयितुरयैर्जगणैः ॥ ७ ॥]

दलद्विके मुखे आदौ त्रिषु गणेषु यतिर्यस्याः सा गाथैव पथ्याख्या । तयव्यवहित्ते तस्याः पथ्याया अन्यथा गणत्रयमुल्लङ्घ्य यतिर्यस्याः सा विपुलाख्या । उभयोर्गुरुणा परिक्षिप्ताभ्यां वेष्टिताभ्यां द्वितीयचतुर्थाभ्यां जगणाभ्यां विशिष्टा विपुलाख्या ॥ ७ ॥

विउला चवला य तिहा सव्वमुहानियंबभेयओ नेया ।
अन्नेवि बहू भेया केहिंवि गाहाइ भन्नन्ति ॥ ८ ॥

[विपुला चपला च त्रिधा सर्वमुखनितम्बभेदतो ज्ञेया ।
अन्येपि बहवो भेदाः कैश्चिदपि गाथाया भण्यन्ते ॥ ८ ॥]

तासु तिसृषु पथ्यादिषु विपुलाचपले त्रिधा ज्ञेये । सर्वमुखनितम्बभेदात् । सर्वविपुला मुखविपुला नितम्बविपुला सर्वचपला मुखचपला नितम्बचपलेत्यर्थः । द्वयोरर्धयोर्विपुलां सर्वविपुला । पूर्वार्धे विपुला मुखविपुला । परार्धे विपुला नितम्बविपुला एवं चपलापि । पथ्यात्रिविपुलायोगे चेदं चपलात्रयं द्वादशधा । तथाहि । पथ्यासर्वचपला १ सर्वविपुलासर्वचपला २ मुखविपुलासर्वचपला ३ नितम्बविपुलासर्वचपला ४ पथ्यामुखचपला ५ सर्वविपुलामुखचपला ६ मुखविपुलामुखचपला ७ नितम्बविपुलामुखचपला ८ पथ्यानितम्बचपला ८ सर्वविपुला नितम्बचपला १० मुखविपुलानितम्बचपला ११ नितम्बविपुलानितम्बचपला १२ एवं पथ्याभेदेनैकेन विपुलाभेदैस्त्रिभिश्चपलाभेदैर्द्वादशाभिः षोडश भेदाः । तथान्येपि बहवो भेदाः कमलाब्राह्मण्याया गाढायाश्च कैश्चिदाचार्यैर्गाथाया भण्यन्ते तद्यथा—

कमला ललिया लीला जुण्हा रंभा य मागही लच्छी ।
विज्जूमाला हंसी सासिलेहा जन्हवी सुद्धी ॥ १ ॥

काली कुमरी मेहा सिद्धी रिद्धी य कुमुइणी धरणी ।
जक्खी वीणा वाणी गंधव्वी मंजरी गोरी ॥ २ ॥

कमला तिहिं लहुएहिं ललिया पंचेहिं एवमाईओ ।
बिहिं बिहिं वड्ढंतेहिं कमेण सेसाउ जायंति ॥ ३ ॥

[कमला त्रिभिर्लघुभिर्ललिता पञ्चभिरेवमाद्याः ।
द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यां वर्धमानाभ्यां क्रमेण शेषा जायन्ते ॥ ३ ॥]

तथा— सव्वगुरू बंभणिया पढमद्धगुरूहिं खत्तिणी होई ।
वइसी पच्छद्धगुरूहिं सुद्दिया सव्वलहुएहिं ॥ ४ ॥

[सर्वगुरुर्ब्राह्मणी प्रथमार्धगुरुभिः क्षत्रिया भवति ।
वैश्या पश्चार्धगुरुभिः शूद्री सर्वलघुभिः ॥ ४ ॥]

तथा— गाढा अगाढगाढा दरगाढा सरलगाढिया तह य ।
कज-सज-भज-फज-मइया गाहाओ हुंति जहसंखं ॥ ५ ॥
[गाढा अगाढगाढा दरगाढा सरलगाढा तथा च ।
कज-सज-भज-फज-मय्यः गाथा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥ ५ ॥]

आसामर्थः । त्रिलघुर्गाथा कमला । तत एकैकं गुरुभेदेन द्विद्विलघुवृध्या शेषाः पञ्चविंशतिः सर्वाश्च षड्विंशतिरिति । ब्राह्मण्यादाः प्रतीतार्थाः । क्रमात् कजमयी गाढा । सजमयी अगाढगाढा । भजमयी दरगाढा । फजमयी सरलगाढा । तन्मतेन कः सर्वगुरुः टः । सः अन्त्यगुरुः ठः । भः आदिगुरुः टः । फः सर्वलघुः टः । जस्तु मध्यगुरुः टः सर्वत्र योज्यः ।

उदा०—कलमलयदाहमुच्छा विंछुयडंखुव्व देइ पढमंपि ।
पच्छावि जण हणंतो अच्छइ सुचिरंपि पिअविरहो ॥ ४ ॥
[चित्तक्षोभदाहमूर्च्छा वृश्चिकदंश इव ददाति प्रथमंमपि ।
पश्चादपि जनं घ्नन् भवति सुचिरमपि प्रियविरहः ॥ ४ ॥]

कलमलयत्ति चित्तक्षोभम् । विंछुयत्ति वृश्चिकेश्चेञ्चुर्वेति (हे० ८·२·१६) इति ञ्चुरादेशः ॥ ४ ॥

उदा०—गुज्जरविलयाण सहावविमलविउलाणणाण सकलंको ।
वंको य कुणइ भवणंमि कुंभदासत्तणं चंदो ॥ ५ ॥
[गुर्जरविलयानां स्वभावविमलविपुलाननानां सकलङ्कः ।
वक्रश्च करोति भवने कुम्भदासत्वं चन्द्रः ॥ ५ ॥]

वनितायाः विलयाः (हे० ८·२·२२८) इति विलयादेशः । संस्कृतो वायं शब्द इति केचित् ।

उदा०—कदुरवअसंखहयधंखपमुहविउलाउलंमि मरुदेसे ।
हो कीस हंस मानसनिवासदुल्लाडिय पत्तोसि ॥ ६ ॥
[कदुरवासंख्यहतध्वाङ्क्षप्रमुखविकुलाकुले मरुदेशे ।
हो कस्माद्धंस मानसनिवासदुर्लठित प्राप्तोसि ॥ ६ ॥]

विउलाउलंमीत्ति वीनां पक्षिणां कुलैराकुले ॥ ६ ॥

उदा०— गिरिमालियव्व बाला वरोरुपाया नियंबविउला य ।
उत्तुंगपयोहरपिहियपिहुलवच्छा व हरइ मणं ॥ ७ ॥
[गिरिमालिकेव बाला वरोरुपादा नितम्बविपुला च ।
उत्तुङ्गपयोधरपिहितपृथुलवक्षाः(वृक्षा) च हरति मनः ॥ ७ ॥]

एकत्र वरमुरुपादं पक्षे वरा उरवो विपुलाः पादाः प्रान्ताचला यस्याः । एकत्र पयोधराभ्यां पिहितं पृथुलं वच्छत्ति वक्षः उरः । पक्षे पयोधरैः पिहिताः वच्छत्ति 'छो अक्षादौ' (हे० ८·२·१७) इति वृक्षाः यस्याः ॥ ७ ॥

उदा०— न छमच्छमन्ति जेसिं मणाइं लीलाहिं लोलनयणाण ।
तेसिं मुणीण पाए नमामि निच्चं अचवलाण ॥ ८ ॥
[न व्याकुलीभवन्ति येषां मनांसि लीलाभिर्लोलनयनानाम् ।
तेषां मुनीनां पादान्नमामि नित्यमचपलानाम् ॥ ८ ॥]

स्पष्टा ॥ ८ ॥

उदा०— अम्मो महाणुभावेहिं मत्तपंकयमुही भमुहचवला ।
जेहिं सयंचिय छड्डिय छलिया लच्छी नमो तेसिं ॥ ९ ॥
[अम्मो महानुभावैः मत्तपङ्कजमुखी भ्रूचपला ।
यैः स्वयमेव त्यक्त्वा छलिता लक्ष्मीर्नमस्तेभ्यः ॥ ९ ॥]

अम्मो हर्षे (हे० ८·२·२०८) । भमुहात्ति आर्षत्वात् । प्राकृतलक्षणे तु भ्रुवो मया डमयेति (हे० ८·२·१६७) मया भुमयेत्येव स्यात् । दीर्घह्रस्वौ मिथो वृत्तौ (हे० ८·१·४) इति भमुहाशब्दस्य ह्रस्वत्वम् ॥ ९ ॥

उदा०—जाण सद्दत्तं कत्थइ न दिट्ठपायं नियंबचवलाण ।
नारीण ताण कज्जंमि चित्त उत्तम्मसि किंमेवं ॥ १० ॥
[यासां सतीत्वं कुत्रापि न दृष्टप्रायं नितम्बचपलानाम् ।
नारीणां तासां कार्ये चित्त उत्ताम्यासि किमेवम् ॥ १० ॥]

श्लेषेव(ण)वधोरैक्यम् ॥ १० ॥ व्यासभीरुत्वाच्चपलामूलभेदत्रयमेवोदाहृतं भगवता । विनेयानुग्रहार्थं कमलायुदाहृतीर्दर्शयेः—

कमला यथा—

अम्मो जुत्तं जं ते ताडिज्जंते पयोहरा कंते ।
विग्घं दिंता उच्चं निद्धिभच्चालिंगणे निद्धं ॥ १ ॥
[अम्मो युक्तं यत्ते ताड्येते पयोधरौ कान्ते ।
विघ्नं ददतौ उच्चं निर्भीकालिङ्गने स्निग्धम् ॥ १ ॥]

ललिता यथा—

पत्तो वासारत्तो न सो निसंसो तहावि संपत्तो ।
ता रे पाणा कत्तो तुम्हं जत्तो न पत्थाणे ॥ २ ॥
[प्राप्ता वर्षारात्रिः, नासौ नृशंसस्तथापि संप्राप्तः ।
तत् रे प्राणाः कुतो युष्माकं यत्नो न प्रस्थाने ॥ २ ॥]

लीला यथा—

गेयं बाला तूला तेवोलं(?) चंदिमा चउस्सालं ।
इक्किक्कंपि असुलं किं पुण सव्वाण समवाओ ॥ ३ ॥

[गेयं वाला तूली ताम्बूलश्चन्द्रिका ऋतुःशालम् ।
एकैकमप्यमूल्यं किं पुनः सर्वेषां समवायः ॥ ३ ॥]

*ज्योत्स्ना यथा—

अप्पाणं वन्नंतो पिम्मं पिम्मुज्झिएसु बंधंतो ।
निक्कारणं हसंतो वयंस लोए हस्सिज्जोसि ॥ ४ ॥

[आत्मानं वर्णयन् प्रेम प्रेमोज्झितेषु बध्नन् ।
निष्कारणं हसन्वयस्य लोके हस्यसे ॥ ४ ॥]

रम्भा यथा—

तुह निद्दे निस्सीमा आयड्ढिविवड्ढिमा इमा कावि ।
दूराउ वल्लहं दुल्लहंपि जं अम्ह आणेसि ॥ ५ ॥

[तव निद्रे निःसीमा आकर्षणविदग्धता इयं कापि ।
दूराद्वल्लभं दुर्लभमपि यदस्माकमानयसि ॥ ५ ॥]

मागधी यथा—

पच्चालोयणसंका मुक्का संगीयदंसणं खित्तं ।
गामंगणाउ गहवइसुयं जहिच्छं नियच्छंति ॥ ६ ॥

[प्रत्यालोचनशङ्का मुक्ता संगीतदर्शनं क्षिप्तम् ।
ग्रामाङ्गना गृहपतिसुतं यथेच्छं नियच्छन्ति ॥ ६ ॥]

लक्ष्मी यथा—

अच्चंतनिग्घिणेणावि चिंतादुःखाण कारणं चित्तं ।
अवहारियं गच्छंतेण तेण इक्कं कयं सुकयं ॥ ७ ॥

[अत्यन्तनिर्घृणेनापि चिन्तादुःखानां कारणं चित्तम् ।
अपहृतं; गच्छता तेनैकं कृतं सुकृतम् ॥ ७ ॥]

विद्युत् यथा—

अप्पुव्वो नणु गिम्हो कोवि इमो नामि पिययमविओगो ।
वड्ढंति जंमि दड्ढा नवरं दिवसा न्निसाओवि ॥ ८ ॥

[अपूर्वो ननु ग्रीष्मः कोप्ययं मातुलानि प्रियतमवियोगः ।
वर्धन्ते यस्मिन्दग्धाः केवलं दिवशा निशा अपि ॥ ८ ॥

माला यथा—

णो दिट्ठाइं वियंभंति तेण दिट्ठाइं पुण निलुक्कंति ।
सहि अणुवइट्ठसिक्खियचोरीमग्गाइं नयणाइं ॥ ९ ॥

[न दृष्टानि विजृम्भन्ति तेन दृष्टानि पुनर्निलीयन्ते ।
सखि अनुपदिष्टशिक्षितचौर्यमार्गाणि नयनानि ॥ ९ ॥

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* This is a mistake; stanza 4 contains 7 short letters and is an example of लीला, while stanza 3 contains 9 short letters and is an example of ज्योत्स्ना. I have, however, retained the order of verses as it is in the Ms.

हंसी यथा—

उवरि सुजंतियादिढहाररज्जुणो सज्जिया जयं जेउं ।
जंतोवलव्व कंदप्पजंतवाहेण तुह सिहिणा ॥ १० ॥

[उपरि सुयान्त्रितदृढहाररज्जू सज्जितौ जगज्जेतुम् ।
यन्त्रोत्पलाविव कन्दर्पयन्त्रवाहेन तव स्तनौ ॥ १० ॥

शशिलेखा यथा—

चलचेलंचलअंतरदरदाविय इक्कऊरुमूलाओ ।
परिसिक्किरीउ पुरओ हरंति अहियं मयच्छीओ ॥ ११ ॥

[चलच्चैलाञ्चलान्तरदरदर्शितैकोरुमूलाः ।
परिष्वाष्किताः पुरतो हरन्त्यधिकं मृगाक्ष्यः ॥ ११ ॥]

जान्हवी यथा—

वम्महसहियसणाहं अणविक्खियसामिभिच्चववहारं ।
विविहणहंकं मिहुणस्स मोहणं जयइ जुज्झं व ॥ १२ ॥

[मन्मथसहायसनाथमनपेक्षितस्वामिभृत्यव्यवहारम् ।
विविधनखाङ्कं मिथुनस्य मोहनं जयति युद्धामिव ॥ १२ ॥]

शुद्धिर्यथा—

जणमणमग्गेसु सुहेण वहइ कंदप्पसारहिसणाहो ।
थोरेहिं तुह किसोयरि सिहिणकिसोरेहिं रायरहो ॥ १३ ॥

[जनमनोमार्गेषु सुखेन उह्यते कन्दर्पसारथिसनाथः ।
स्थूलाभ्यां तव कृशोदरि स्तनकिशोराभ्यां रागरथः ॥ १३ ॥

काली यथा—

कलमलयदलो रणरणयपल्लवो देहदाहगुच्छिल्लो ।
गहिलत्तणकुसमो विरहभूरुहो फलइ मरणेण ॥ १४ ॥

[चित्तक्षोभदलो रणरणकपल्लवो देहदाहगुच्छिल्लः ।
ग्रहिलत्वकुसमो विरहभूरुहः फलति मरणेन ॥ १४ ॥]

कुमारी यथा—

अन्नुन्नमंगघडणाघणमुवहाणीकइक्कबाहुलयं ।
अवरमुया अविरलविहियकंठगहणं सुयइ मिहुणं ॥ १५ ॥

[अन्योन्यमङ्गघटनाघनमुपधानीकृतैकबाहुलतम् ।
अपरभुजेनाविरलाविहितकण्ठग्रहणं स्वपिति मिथुनम् ॥ १५ ॥]

मेधा यथा –

सरसेण पवरपरिमलघणेण मणहारिणा महग्घेण ।
मच्चइ सरए णववेसतरुणिसरएण मयणकरी ॥ १६ ॥]

[सरसेन प्रवरपरिमलघनेन मनोहारिणा महार्घेण ।
माद्यति शरदि नववेषतरुणिसरकेण मदनकरी ॥ १६ ॥]

सिद्धी यथा—

दइयणहंकुससरसव्वणंकिए कचुंअंमि मुहवडुव्व ।
तुह सुयणु सयणमयगलकुंभयडे सहइ सिहिणभरे ॥ १७ ॥

[दयितनखाङ्कुशसरसव्रणाङ्किते कञ्चुको मुखपट इव ।
तव सुतनु मदनमदकलकुम्भतटे शोभते स्तनभरे ॥ १७ ॥]

ऋद्धिर्यथा—

बहलंधतमसघोरा रयणी छणतुहिणकरसणाहावि ।
पियसहि मणहरपियवयणविरहक्खियणाविहुरियाण ॥ १८ ॥

[बहलान्धतमोघोरा रजनी क्षणतुहिनकरसनाथापि ।
प्रियसखि मनोहरप्रियवदनाविरहच्छेदनाविधुरितानाम् ॥ १८ ॥]

कुमुदिनी यथा–

अणुहवसरसाणं विय अनुहवपरिणामपरममहुराण ।
आयि हियय विसयउवसमसुहाण उय अंतरं गहणं ॥ १९ ॥

[अनुभवसरसानामिवानुभवपरिणामपरममधुराणाम् ।
आयि हृदय विषय-उपशमसुखानां पश्यान्तरं गहनम् ॥ १९ ॥

धरणी यथा—

सुयणु तुय वयणरयणियराकिरणहठहारियाविसमतमपसरे ।
नेहक्खयाय जइ जलइ जलउ दिवो रइहरंमि ॥ २० ॥

[सुतनु तव वदनरजनिकराकिरणहठहृतविषमतमःप्रसरे ।
स्नेहक्षयाय यदि ज्वलति, ज्वलतु दीपो रतिगृहे ॥ २० ॥]

यक्षी यथा—

सुसिलट्ठविंटमरगयमणिमयासिरकलसाविलासिरासिरीया ।
मयणानिवासिविरवरजमलगुड्डुरा सुयणु तुह सिहिणा ॥२१॥

[सुश्लिष्टवृन्तमरकतमणिमयशिरःकलशाविलसच्छ्रीकौ ।
मदननृपशिबिरवरयमलगुण्ठकौ सुतनु तव स्तनौ ॥२१॥]

वीणा यथा—

न सुयइ न रसइ न जिमइ न हसइ न य ललइ नावेय उल्लवई ।
सा दियहं वरइ रुयइ नवरं तुह विरहदुहविहुरा ॥२२॥

[न स्वापिति न रसति न भुङ्क्ते न हसति न च ललति नापि चोल्लपति ।
सा दिवसं वृण्वती रोदिति केवलं तव विरहदुःखविधुरा ॥२२॥]

वाणी यथा—

थुइमुहलविविहबुहनिवहभसलउलाविहियबहलहलबोलं ।
परिचरइ कोवि मुणिरयणसूरिगुरुचरणसरसिरुहं ॥२३॥

[स्तुतिमुखराविविधबुधनिवहभ्रमरकुलाविहितबहलकलकलम् ।
परिचरति कोपि मुनिरत्नसूरिगुरुचरणसरसिरुहम् ॥२३॥]

गन्धर्वी यथा—

कुणासि तुममाणिसमणुवममुहडिमहयपसुहरिउनिवहनिवहे ।
समरंमि अमरवहु रुइयरमणजणलाहरहसमुहम् ॥२४॥

[करोषि त्वमनिशमनुपमसुभटत्वहतप्रमुखरिपुनृपतिनिवहे ।
समरे अमरवधूः रुचितरमणजनलाभहृष्टसुखाः ॥२४॥]

मञ्जरी यथा—

जयपलयपवणहरतइयनयणघणजलणजणियउसिणगुण ।
विरहियणमहह हयसासि धुवमसरणमविरयं दहासि ॥२५॥

[जगत्प्रलयप्रवणहरतृतीयनयनघनज्वलनजनितोष्णतागुण ।
विरहिजनमहह हतशाशि ध्रुवमशरणमविरतं दहसि ॥२५॥]

गौरी यथा—

अलहुदुहलहारिलहिरगहिरभवजलाहिवलयतरणखमं ।
जिणवरपवयणपवहणमणुसर जइ महासि सुहाविहवं ॥२६॥

[अलघुदुःखलहरीयुतगम्भीरभवजलधिवलयतरणक्षमम् ।
जिनवरप्रवचनप्रवहणमनुसर यदीच्छसि शुभविभवम् ॥२६॥]

कमलैव गुरुसंख्याविवक्षया ब्राह्मणी । पादलिप्तसूरेर्यथा—

गज्जंते खे मेहा फुल्ला नीवा पणच्चिया मोरा ।
नट्ठो चंदुल्लोओ वासारत्तो हला पत्तो ॥२७॥

[गर्जन्ते खे मेघाः फुल्ला नीपाः प्रणर्तिता मयूराः ।
नष्टश्चन्द्रालोको वर्षारात्रिः सखि प्राप्ता ॥२७॥]

क्षत्रिया यथा—

संसारासारत्तं अज्जो जाणामि कामत्तत्तं च ।
विसुमरइ रमणिमणुखणमवि हयमयमहह नहु तहावि ॥२८॥

[संसारासारत्वमज्जो जानामि कामवत्त्वं च ।
विस्मरति रमणीमनुक्षणमपि हतमनः अहह न खलु तथापि ॥२८॥]

वैश्या यथा–

तरुणियणमभयमयामिव आयि विरइय जामिह मुणासि हयाहियय ।
निःसंदेहं तं ते घोरं हालाहलं चेयं । २९ ॥

[तरुणिजनममृतमयामिव आयि विरचित यदिह जानासि हतहृदय ।
निःसंदेहं तत्ते घोरं हालाहलं चैतत् ॥ २९ ॥]

शूद्री यथा-

आयि अबुहहियय किमु विसमविस्त्थरसविवसमणिसमवि भमासि ।
मुय कुमइ ससमउवसमपरिणइसुहमणहमणुहवसु ॥ ३० ॥

[आयि अबुधहृदय किमु विषमविषयरसाविवशमानिशमपि भ्रमासि ।
मुञ्च कुमतिं सशमोपशमपरिणतिसुत्रमनघमनुभव ॥ ३० ॥]

गाढा यथा–

दिट्ठे तुमंमि सव्वुत्तमंमि आणंदसिंदिरा दिट्ठी ।
तोयंजलीउ देइव्व देव दट्ठव्ववत्थूण ॥ ३१ ॥

[दृष्टे त्वयि सर्वोत्तमे आन्दस्यन्दिनी दृष्टिः ।
तोयाञ्जलीर्ददातीव देव द्रष्टव्यवस्तुभ्यः ॥ ३१ ॥]

अगाढगाढा यथा-

जरिणो घयं व वासिणो वियड्ढतरुणा विवागअहियंति ।
परदारसंगमसुहं निकामसरसंपि न महंति ॥ ३२ ॥

[ज्वारिणो घृतमिव वाशिनो विदग्धतरुणा विपाकाहितामिति ।
परदारसंगमसुखं निकामसरसमपि नेच्छन्ति ॥ ३२ ॥]

दरगाढा यथा–

सारयससीवि सुंदरि न पावए तुह मुहोवमाणपयं ।
तेणावि हयस्स ता कमलयस्सं का उण गई हवउ ॥ ३३ ॥

[शारदशशी अपि सुन्दरि न प्राप्नोति तव मुखोपमानपदम् ।
तेनापि हतस्य तत्कमलस्य का पुनर्गतिर्भवति ॥ ३३ ॥]

सरलगाढा मनोरथस्य यथा–

महमहइ लच्छिमयकुडयनीवपरिमलभरेण घणसमओ ।
अइभरयपीयसुरसुरहियंव वरतरुणिमुहकमलं ॥ ३४ ॥

[प्रभवति लक्ष्मीमयकुटजनीपपरिमलभरेण घनसमयः ।
अतिभरपीतसुरासुरभीकृतमिव वरतरुणिमुखकमलम् ॥ ३४ ॥]

गाहाइ मुहदलदुगं गीई तलदलदुगं तु उवगीई ।
वच्चासे उग्गीई गीइच्चिय खंधमट्ठमटे ॥ ९ ॥

[गाथाया मुखदलाद्विकं गीतिः; तलदलाद्विकं तूपगीतिः ।
व्यत्यासे उद्गीतिर्गीतिरेव स्कन्धमष्टमटे ॥ ९ ॥]

गाहाइत्ति सर्वत्र योज्यम् । गाथाया मुखदलाद्विकं गीतिः । पञ्चार्धेपि षष्ठे मध्यके इत्यर्थः । गाथायास्तलदलद्विकं पुनरुपगीतिः । पूर्वार्धेपि षष्ठो लघुरित्यर्थः । गाथाया दलयोर्व्यत्यासे विपर्यये उद्गीतिः । पूर्वार्धं अपरार्धमपरार्धं पूर्वार्धमित्यर्थः । एवं तिस्रोपि गीतयः पथ्याविपुलाचपलाभेदसंयोगे षोडशषोडशभेदाः स्युस्ततः सर्वाग्रेण गाथानां चतुःषष्टिभेदाः । यदाह–

एकैव भवति पथ्या तिस्रो विपुलास्ततश्चतस्रस्ताः ।
चपलाभेदैस्त्रिभिरपि भिन्ना इति षोडशार्याः स्युः ॥१॥

गीतीनां त्रयमित्थं प्रत्येकं षोडशप्रकारं स्यात् ।
साकल्येनार्याणामिमे विकल्पाश्चतुःषष्टिः ॥ २ ॥

तथा गीतिरेवाष्टमस्य गुरोः स्थाने टगणे कृते स्कन्धम् । आर्यागीतिरिति पिङ्गलः । लघुचतुष्कात् द्विद्विलघुवृध्या चेदं स्कन्धमेकोनत्रिंशद्विधं यथा–' पिम्मो शङ्खो

पाणी पहिओ पउरो परायणो परमो इत्यादिगाथात्रयम् । तथा दलद्वयेपि षष्ठे लघावुपस्कन्धम् । प्रथमार्धे षष्ठे लघावुत्स्कन्धम् । अन्त्यार्धे षष्ठे लघाववस्कन्धम् । पूर्वार्धे स्कन्धमपरार्धे गीतिस्तथा पूर्वार्धे गीतिरपरार्धे स्कन्धकामिति संकीर्णस्कन्धमपि स्कन्धोपलक्षणाज्ज्ञेयम् ।

उदा० — जउगोलव्व विभिज्जंति इत्थिआगणेइ संगया बहवे ।
तीइवि कणयंपिव जे उ णिम्मला ते पुणो जए विरला ॥ ११ ॥

[जतुगोला इव विभिद्यन्ते स्त्र्यग्निना संगता बहवः ।
तस्यामपि कनकामिव ये तु निर्मलास्ते पुनर्जगति विरलाः ॥११॥]

कणयंपिवात्ति ' मिवपिवविवव्ववाविअ इवार्थे वा' (हे० ८--२·१८२) इति विवस्थाने पिवः ॥ ११ ॥

उदा० — उय गीईइ कुरंगुव्व मोहिओ ससिमुहीइ जणो ।
हम्मइ वम्महवाहेण निद्दयं पुंखियनरेण ॥ १२ ॥

[पश्य गीत्या कुरङ्ग इव मोहितः शशिमुख्या जनः ।
हन्यते मन्मथव्याधेन निर्दयं पुङ्खितशरेण ॥ १२ ॥]

' उय ' इत्यव्ययं पश्येत्यर्थे । उपगीतिपक्षे तु ' कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुगिति (हे० ८·१·१७७) पलुक् । पो व इति तु प्रायिकम् । हम्मइत्ति ' हन्खनोन्त्यस्य ' (हे० ८·४·२४४) इति म्मः । १२ ॥

उदा०— किज्जइ तीइ तुह गुणुग्गीइविणोओ विरहदुःखे ।
लुप्पइ बाहुप्पीलेण नवर वरईइ भक्खणं कंठो ॥ १३ ॥

[क्रियते तया तव गुणोद्गीतिविनोदो विरहदुःखे ।
लोपयति बाष्पोत्पीडेन केवलं वराक्या भक्षणं कण्ठः ॥ १३ ॥]

वरईइत्ति वराक्याः । स्वराणां स्वरा इति ह्रस्वः ॥ १३ ॥

उदा०— अथिरज्जि जिव्व विहया उअ पच्चक्खं धयाइंव पवणपहया ।
अजरामरुव्व ववहरइ जीवलोओ तहावि हा साहसिओ ॥ १४ ॥

[अस्थिरा इव जीव विभवाः पश्य प्रत्यक्षं ध्वजा इव पवनप्रहताः ।
अजरामर इव व्यवहरति जीवलोकस्तथापि हा साहसिकः ॥१४॥]

स्पष्टम् । सर्वगीतिस्कन्धभेदोदाहरणानि व्यासभयान्नोक्तानि ॥ १४ ॥

गीइविसेसा चउरो रिउछंदाई इहत्थि अवरोवि ।
गाहपमुहा य गाहाइ अट्ठभेया जओ भणियम् ॥ १० ॥

[गीतिविशेषाश्चत्वारो रिपुच्छन्दाद्या इह सन्त्यपरेपि ।
गाहप्रमुखाश्च गाथाया अष्टभेदा यतो भाणितम् ॥ १० ॥]

गीतेर्विशेषाश्चत्वारो रिपुच्छन्दाद्या इह प्रकरणे अपरेपि अस्थित्ति सन्ति अस्थित्स्यादिनेति (हे० ८·३·१४८) अस्थिः । गाथप्रमुखा गाथाया अष्टभेदाः सन्ति । चकाराज्जातीफलं नवमम् । यतो भणितं शास्त्रान्तरे । १० ॥

गीइ रिउच्छंदा सत्तमंमि तगणे, तइज्जए ललिया ।
दुहिं भद्दिया, विचित्ता जहिच्छतगणा विणा छट्ठं ॥ ११ ॥

गाहामुहदलअंतिमगुरुपच्छा दुन्न दुन्न टगणाण ।
वुड्ढीइ कमा गाहो उग्गाह-विगाह-अवगाहा ॥ १२ ॥

संगाहो उवगाहो य गाहिणी अह जहिच्छाविहियाए ।
दुदुटगणाविवुड्ढीए मालागाहो महाछंदो ॥ १३ ॥

[गीतिः रिपुच्छन्दाः सप्तमे तगणे, तृतीये ललिता ।
द्वाभ्यां भद्रिका, विचित्रा यथेच्छतगणा विना षष्ठम् ॥ ११ ॥]

गाथामुखदलान्तिमगुरोः पश्चाद्द्वयोर्द्वयोष्टगणयोः ।
वृद्ध्या क्रमात् गाथ उद्गाथविगाथावगाथाः ॥ १२ ॥

संगाथ उपगाथश्च गाथिनी अथ यथेच्छाविहितया ।
द्विद्विटगणाविवृध्या, मालागाथो महाछन्दः ॥ १३ ॥

आद्यगाथाया गीइत्ति सर्वत्र योज्यम् । गीतिरेव सप्तमे तगणे पञ्चमात्रे रिपुच्छन्दाः । गीतिरेव तृतीये तगणे ललिता । गीतिरेव द्वयोस्तृतीयसप्तमतगणयोर्भद्रिका । गीतिरेव षष्ठगणं विना यथेच्छं तगणैर्विचित्रा । तथा गाथाया मुखदले आन्तिमस्य गुरोः पश्चादेकटगणवृद्ध्या जातीफलमनुक्तमपि ज्ञेयम् । द्वयोर्द्वयोष्टगणयोर्वृद्ध्या क्रमात् गाथ-उद्गाथ-विगाथ-अवगाथाः संगाथ उपगाथश्च गाथिनीति स्युः । अष्टाभिष्टगणैर्जातिफलं नवभिर्गाथ एकादशाभिरुद्गाथस्त्रयोदशाभिर्विगाथः पञ्चदशाभिरवगाथः सप्तदशाभिः संगाथः एकोनविंशत्योपगाथ एकविंशत्या गाथिनीत्यर्थः । अथ यथेच्छं विहितया न तु प्रमितया द्विद्विटगणविवृद्ध्या मालागाथो महाच्छन्दः स्यात् । अमितटगणत्वाच्चास्य महाशब्दः । सर्वेषु चैतेषु जातिफलादिषूत्तरार्धं गाथा एव । रिपुच्छन्दा यथा–

पियतक्करे काडिलं कहंते वेविरीइ नवोढाए ।
रमणवलत्थेण कओ किंकिणिसत्थेण कलयलो महल्लो ॥ ३५ ॥

[प्रियतस्करे कटिवस्त्रं कर्षति वेपमानाया नवोढायाः ।
रमणपर्यस्तेन कृतः किङ्किणिसार्थेन कलकलो महान् ॥ ३५ ॥]

ललिता यथा–

जह मग्गो पुलइज्जए साणंदं पाउसन्य व पियस्स ।
तह सरयाइ-रिऊणं व वयंसि किं इअरयाण वि जणाण ॥ ३६ ॥
[यथा मार्गः प्रलोक्यते सानन्दं प्रावृष इव प्रियस्य ।
तथा शरदादि-ऋतूनामिव सखि किं इतरेषामपि जनानाम् ॥३६॥]

भद्रिका यथा–

लक्खइ लक्खेण दइअस्स दंसणं संगओ उण कोडीए ।
वयणं कोडाकोडीइ अमुल्लमालिंगणं तु हला इक्कं ॥ ३७ ॥
[लक्ष्यते लक्षेण दयितस्य दर्शनं, संगमः पुनः कोट्या ।
वचनं कोटाकोट्या, अमूल्यमालिङ्गनं तु सखि एकम् ॥ ३७ ॥]

विचित्रा यथा–

रुइउ न दीसइ जए जणो अह दीसए ता न होइ नेहिल्लो ।
निद्धोवि दुल्लहुच्चिय विहडए लद्धोवि मामि किं कुणिमो ॥३८॥
[रुचितो न दृश्यते जगति जनोऽथ दृश्यते तदा न भवति स्निग्धः ।
स्निग्धोपि दुर्लभ एव, विघटते लब्धोपि मातुलानि किं कुर्मः ॥३८॥]

जातिफलं यथा–

जो जस्स कए घडिओ संघडइ सुदूरगोवि तस्सेव जणो ।
बज्झंति विंझवणसंभवावि रायंगणे करिणो ॥ ३९ ॥
[यो यस्य कृते घटितः संघटति सुदूरगोपि तस्यैव जनः ।
बध्यन्ते विन्ध्यवनसंभवा अपि राजाङ्गणे करिणः ॥ ३९ ॥]

गाथो यथा–

दइए दावियावीप्पियसएवि सुकुलंगणाण सब्भावनिब्भरं पिम्मं ।
पाएहि य ताडियाउ वि रविणा विअसंति नलिणीओ ॥ ४० ॥
[दयिते दर्शितावीप्रियशतेपि सुकुलाङ्गनानां सद्भावनिर्भरं प्रेम ।
पादैश्च ताडिता अपि रविणा विकसन्ति नलिन्यः ॥ ४० ॥]

उद्गाथो यथा—

अविरामजालिरउद्दामदइयविच्छोहहुयवहुच्छालिय-
धूमरिंछोलिदूमियाइं व ।
अणवरयं चेव झरंति पहियघरिणीण नयणाइं ॥ ४१ ॥

[अविरामज्वालितोद्दामदयितविरहहुतवहोच्छालित-
धूमसमूहदूनानीव ।
अनवरतं चैव झरन्ति पथिकगृहिणीनां नयनानि ॥ ४१ ॥]

विगाथो यथा—

सरहसणमंतसामंतमोलिदिप्पंतमउडरयणालिकिरण-
कच्छुरियचरणजुयलस्स सिद्धरायस्स ।
महमहइ कोवि माहप्पपरिमलो भुवणवलयंमि ॥ ४२ ॥

[सरभसनमत्सामन्तमौलिदीप्यमानमुकुटरत्नालिकिरण-
कच्छुरितचरणयुगलस्य सिद्धराजस्य ।
प्रसरति कोपि माहात्म्यपरिमलो भुवनवलये ॥ ४२ ॥

अवगाथो यथा—

तेलुक्कचंदगुज्जरनरिंदजयसिंहएवनिप्पद्धवायमाणसतलाय-
गंभीरगब्भनिब्भरनिवासदुल्ललिथं ।
सिरिधम्मसूरिमुनिरायपायपउमं नमंसामि ॥ ४३ ॥

[त्रैलोक्यचन्द्रगुर्जरनरेन्द्रजयसिंहदेवानिःप्रत्यवाय(?) मानस-
तडागगंभीरगर्भनिर्भरनिवासदुर्ललितम् ।
श्रीधर्मसूरिमुनिराजपादपद्मं नमामि ॥ ४३ ॥]

संगाथो यथा—

पियमरणसोयरोयंतदीणणिप्पुत्तनारिधणचायकित्तिसंभारभरिय-
भुवणंतराल भूवालतिलय सिरिकुमरवाल किं भणिमो ।
नत्थि न आसि ण होही तुह तुल्लो भूवई भुवणे ॥ ४४ ॥

[प्रियमरणशोकरुदद्दीननिष्पुत्रनारीधनत्यागकीर्तिसंभारभरित-
भुवनान्तराल भूपालातिलक श्रीकुमारपाल किं भणामः ।
नास्ति नासीन्न भविष्यति तव तुल्यो भूपतिर्भुवने ॥ ४४ ॥]

उपगाथो यथा–

तुह सुमुहि मुहं ससिमण्डलं च निम्मविय दोवि रम्माइं नूनं निउणेण सारकलणाय तेण कमलाननेण कोऊहलाउ तुलियाइं; तेसु तुज्झ मुहं ।
गरुयंति महीइ गयं इयरं तु नहुंमि लहुयंति ॥ ४५ ॥

[तव सुमुखि मुखं शशिमण्डलं च निर्माय द्वेपि रम्ये नूनं निपुणेन सारकलनाय तेन कमलासनेन कौतूहलात्तुलिते; तयोस्तव मुखम्।
गुर्वीति महीं गतमितरत्तु नभासि लघुकमिति ॥ ४५ ॥]

गाथिनी यथा–

चलवलिरचवलाकिमिकुच्छणिज्जन्निगरालउग्गदुग्गंधरंधबीभच्छयाणचम्मावणद्धघणरुहिरमंससंबद्धअट्ठिकूडाण कूडमारोवियं हयासेहिं ।
नारिनियंबाण कईहिं किंपि हद्धी महग्घत्तं ॥ ४६ ॥

[चलद्वलनशीलचपलकृमिकुत्सनीयविकरा(लो)ग्रदुर्गन्धरन्ध्रबीभत्समानचर्मावनद्धघनरुधिरमांससंबद्धास्थिकूटानां कूटमारोपितं हताशैः।
नारीनितम्बानां कविभिः किमपि हा धिक् महार्घत्वम् ॥ ४६ ॥]

मालागाथो यथा–

भिडणुज्झडाणि सकयग्गहाणि दट्ठाइराणि घणधायघुम्मिघोराणि नहरपहरुच्छलन्तरुहिराणि खेप्पगलंतसेयबिंदूणि पयडउद्धुसियरोमकूवाणि मणियतुमुलाणि लुलियअवयंसकुसुमउव्वंतरेणुपडलाणि कणिरकंकणकलापनूरारवाणि वायालविविहकेलीविहंगबंदिण अमंदहलवोलबहुठवड्ढियरसाणि मौलिप्फुरंतधूमोलिलोलचूलप्पईवनारयविसेससंधुक्कजुज्झपसराणि ।
रायंधमिहुणमोहणरणाणि णिव्विग्घमग्घंतु ॥ ४७ ॥

[मीलने सकचग्रहाणि दष्टाधराणि व्रनघातघूर्णितघोराणि नखरप्रहारोच्छलद्रुधिराणि खेदप्रगलत्स्वेदबिन्दूनि प्रकटोद्भूवस्तरोमकूपाणि मणिततुमुलानि लुलितावतंसकुसुमोद्वान्तरेणुपटलानि क्वणत्कङ्कणकलापतूर्यारवाणि व्याचालविविधकेलीविहंगबन्दीनाममन्दकोलाहलबहुलवर्धितस्साणि मौलिस्फुरद्धूमालिलोलचूलप्रदीपनारदविशेषसंधुक्षितरुद्धप्रसराणि ॥
रागान्धमिथुनमोहनरणानि निर्विघ्नं राजन्ताम् ॥ ४७ ॥]

एवं जातिफलमुखदलान्त्यगुरोः पूर्वं द्विंद्विटगणवृध्या क्रमेण दामोद्दामाविदामावदामसंदामोपदामदामिनीभालादामा अष्टौ ज्ञेयाः ॥ १३ ॥

पंचाणणलालिया राविंदिसाहिं नवदसहिं मलयमारुययं ।
रासो उ सत्ततेरसहिं विसमसमपयकलाहिं कमा ॥ १४ ॥

[पञ्चाननलालिता राविंदिशाभिर्नवदशभिर्मलयमारुतम् ।
रासस्तु सप्तत्रयोदशभिर्विषमसमपादकलाभिः क्रमात् ॥ १४ ॥]

विषमयोः प्रथमतृतीययोः समयोर्द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः पादयोः कलाभिः क्रमात् द्वादशदशसंख्याभिः पञ्चाननलालिता, नवदशसंख्याभिर्मलयमारुतकं, रासस्तु पुनः सप्तत्रयोदशसंख्याभिः ।

उदा०— पंचाणणलालियाइं । भयभिंभललोयणु ॥
सुमारिवि अज्जावि रन्ने । तहिं त्रासइ मृगगणु ॥ १५ ॥

[पञ्चाननलालितानि । भयविव्हललोचनः ॥
स्मृत्वाद्याप्यरण्ये । तत्र त्रस्यति मृगगणः ॥ १५ ॥]

उदा०— तत्ती सीयली । मेलावा केहा ॥
धण उत्तावली । प्रियसंदसिणेहा ॥ १६ ॥ मलयमारुययं कस्सावि ।

[तप्तशीतलयोः । मेलनं कीदृशम् ॥
गृहिण्युत्सुका । प्रियो मन्दस्नेहः ॥ १६ ॥ मलयमारुतं कस्यापि*]

उदा०— नहि निहालिवि । समुन्नयघणु धणनिरासु ॥
पाहिउ पाउसि । करइ सासीहि जिट्ठमासु ॥ १७ ॥

[नभसि निभाल्य । समुन्नतघनं गृहिणीनिराशः ॥
पाथिकः प्रावृषि । करोति श्वासैर्ज्येष्ठमासम् ॥ १७ ॥]

स्पष्टानि । नवरं धणात्ति प्रिया ॥ १७ ॥

तेरसएक्कारसहिं नु दोहओ एय समपए अंते ।
गुरुलहुणो कुण, अह विणिमएण अवदोहओ एसो ॥ १५ ॥

[त्रयोदशैकादशभिस्तु दोहक एतस्य समपादयोरन्ते ।
गुरुलघू कुरु; अथ विनिमयेनावदोहक एषः ॥ १५ ॥]

विषमसमपदकलाभिः क्रमात् त्रयोदशैकादशसंख्याभिः पुनर्दोहकः । अत्राम्नायः । एतस्य दोहकस्य समपादे द्वितीये तुर्ये चान्ते गुरुलघू कुरु । एकादशकलासु अष्टकलोर्ध्वं गुरुलघुभ्यामेव मात्रात्रयं पूरयेत्यर्थः । अथ विनिमयेन विषमसमाङ्घ्रिव्यत्ययेनैष दोहक एवावदोहकः ॥ १५ ॥

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* of. Prabhāvakacarita. N. S. P. ed. p. 144

उदा०— जि नर निरग्गल गलगलह । मुग्गल्ल जंगलु खंति ॥
ते प्राणिहि दोहय अहह । बहु दुह इहिं बुड्डंति ॥१८॥
[ये नरा निरर्गला × × × । मूर्खा जाङ्गलं खादन्ति ।
ते प्राणिनां द्रोहका अहह । बहुदुःखे इह मज्जन्ति ॥ १८ ॥]

मुग्गलुत्ति मूर्खाः ॥

उदा०— फुल्लंधुय धावंति । सहि सहरिस सद्दारवणीं ॥
कोइलरवि मग्गंति । पाअव दोहय महुसमई ॥ १९ ॥
[भ्रमरा धावन्ति । सखि सहर्षं सहकारवने ॥
कोकिलरवेण मार्गयन्ते । पादपा दोहदान्मधुसमये ॥ १९ ॥]

फुल्लंधुया भ्रमराः । पादपा दोहदान्मार्गन्ति ।

उवदोहयमेगकलाऊणेहिं कलादुगाहिएहिं तु ।
संदोहयमसमेहिं दोहयपाएहिं पभणन्ति ॥ १६ ॥
[उपदोहकमेककलाहीनाभ्यां कलाद्विकाधिकाभ्यां तु ।
संदोहकमसमाभ्यां दोहकपादाभ्यां प्रभणन्ति ॥ १६ ॥]

दोहकविषमाङ्घ्रिभ्यामेककलाहीनाभ्यामुपदोहकं कलाद्विकाधिकाभ्यां पुनः संदोहकं प्राहुर्वृद्धाः ॥ १६ ॥

उदा०— जुज्झिय भाउ य दो हय- । गयरहभडसंजुत्त ।
भरहबाहुबलि सुव्वइं । अवरह कित्तिय मत्त ॥ २० ॥
[योधितौ भ्रातरौ च द्वौ हय- । गजारथभटसंयुक्तौ ।
भरतबाहुबली श्रूयते । अपरेषां कियती मात्रा ॥ २० ॥]

भ्रातरौ द्वौ । हयगजेत्यादि ॥ २० ॥

उदा०— न कलइं दुहसंदोह आविरल । परनियलालसमुद्ध ।
मंजर दंडुकि दिक्खइ उवरि । दड्ढइ दुद्धह लुद्ध ॥ २१ ॥
[न कलयति दुःखसंदोहमाविरलं । परस्त्री(?)लालसो मुग्धः ।
मार्जारो दण्डं पश्यत्युपरि । दग्धो दुग्धस्य लुब्धः ॥ २१ ॥]

मंजरत्ति 'मार्जारस्य मंजरवंजरौ' (हे० ८·२·१३२) इति मार्जारः ॥ २१ ॥

तेरसकलेहिं पाएहिं होइ उद्दोहओ असेसेहिं ।
चूडालदोहओ समपायंतकएण तगणेण ॥ १७ ॥
[त्रयोदशकलैः पादैर्भवत्युद्दोहकोऽशेषैः ।
चूडालदोहकः समपादान्तकृतेन तगणेन ॥ १७ ॥]

पूर्वार्धे कंव्यं(?) । समपादयोरन्ते एकादशकलोर्ध्वं कृतेन पञ्चमात्रेण चूडालदोहकः स्यात् । चूडा तगणलक्षणास्यास्तीत्यर्थः ॥ १७ ॥

उदा०— कुमइ जि मइरइ करइं रइ । नरइं ति वेयरणिहि नइहिं ।
रुंदरउद्दोहयतडिहिं । लुलहि पूयलोहियमइहिं ॥ २२ ॥
[कुमतिर्यो मदिरायां करोति रतिं । नरकेसौ वैतरण्यां नद्याम् ।
विस्तीर्णरौद्रोभयतट्याम् । पतति पूयलोहितमय्याम् ॥ २२ ॥]
रुन्दरौद्रोभयतट्याम् । लुलहिंति पतति ॥ २२ ॥

उदा०— सुहि अच्छंतह माणुसह । विहिवासि कुइ कुग्गाहु चहुट्टइ ।
जिणि जसु नासइ जणु हसइ । मणि अवणइ ताणि दाहु पयट्टइ ॥२३॥
चूडालदोहओ जिणसिंहसूरिस्स ।
[शुभे सतां मनुष्याणाम् । विधिवशात्कोपि कुग्रह आपतति ।
येन यशो नश्यति जनो हसति । मनस्यवनतिस्तनौ दाहः
प्रवर्तते ॥ २३ ॥]

विसमेसु दुन्नि टगणा समेसु पोटो तओ दुसुवि जत्थ ।
लहुओ कगणो लहुओ कगणो तं मुणह मागहियं ॥ १८ ॥
[विषमयोर्द्वौ टगणौ समयोः पष्टस्ततो द्वयोरपि यत्र ।
लघुः कगणो लघुः कगणस्तां जानीत मागधिकाम् ॥ १८ ॥]

विषमयोर्द्वौ चतुर्मात्रौ समयोः पादयोरेकः षण्मात्रः एकश्चतुर्मात्रस्ततो द्वयोरपि पादयोर्लघुकः कगणो लघुकः कगणो यत्र तां मागधिकां मुणहात्ति 'ज्ञो जाणमुणौ' (हे० ८·४·७) इति जानीत । लकलकात्ति सिद्धे लहुओ इत्यादि सूत्रवैचित्र्यार्थम् ॥ १८ ॥

उदा०— किमिच्छह जुवइसंगमं । जाणंतावि जणा जिणागमं ॥
समणो किल कूलवालओ । मागहियाइ कओ दुहालओ ॥ २४ ॥
[किमिच्छत युवतिसंगमं । जानन्तोपि जना जिनागमम् ॥
श्रमणः किल कुलवालकः । मागधिकया कृतो दुःखालयः ॥ २४ ॥]
किलेत्याप्तोक्तौ । कुलवालको व्रती । मागधिकाख्या वेश्या । तत्कथा चाम्नायगम्या ॥ २४ ॥

टा चउरो जो ण मुहे गुरुचियंतिल्लओ लहू नवमो ।
मत्तासमयं; पंचमअट्ठमलहुणो उ विस्सिलोओ ॥ १९ ॥
[टाश्चत्वारो जो न मुखे गुरुरेवान्तिमो लघुर्नवमः ।
मात्रासमकं; पञ्चमाष्टमौ लघू तु विश्लोकः ॥ १९ ॥]

चत्वारश्चतुमात्रास्तेष्वादौ न जगणः । अन्ते भव इति डिल्ले अंतिल्लो अन्त्यो गुरुरेव नवमो लघुर्मात्रासमकम् । पञ्चमाष्टमौ लघू पुनर्विश्लोकः । शेषमुपचित्रां यावन्मात्रासमकवत् ॥ १९ ॥

उदा०— निगमिज्जंतं विसउम्मत्ता । समयं मन्नहि । वु दुहासत्ता ।
न उणो कालिण निगमिज्जंतं । अप्पाणं चिंतहि निब्भंतं ॥ २५ ॥
[निगम्यमानं विषयोन्मत्ताः समयं मन्यन्ते ××× सक्ताः ॥
न पुनः कालेन निगम्यमानम् । आत्मानं चिन्तयति
निभ्रान्तम् ॥ २५ ॥]

उन्मत्ता ग्रहिलाः । समयं कालम् । निब्भंतं भ्रान्तिहीनम् ॥ २५ ॥

उदा०— निच्चुवि नवं करेवि सिलोयं । आवज्जिवि नवनवपहुलोयं ॥
जहि किज्जइ उयरह पूरणयं । तं पंडियत्तामिह आयुखयं ॥ २६ ॥
[नित्यमपि नवं कृत्वा श्लोकम् । आवर्ज्य नवनवप्रभुलोकम् ॥
यदि क्रियते उदरस्य पूरणम् । तत्पण्डितत्वामिहायुःक्षयम् ॥ २६ ॥]
चित्ता नवमोवि हु, वाणवासिया नवमबारसा लहुणो ॥
नवमगुरू उवचित्ता; पायाउलयं इमाण पाएहिं ॥ २० ॥
[चित्रा नवमोपि खलु; वानवासिका नवमद्वादशौ लघू ।
नवमगुरुरुपचित्रा; पादाकुलकमेतेषां पादैः ॥ २० ॥]

नवमो लघुरपिशब्दात्पञ्चमाष्टमौ लघू चित्रा । हुर्निश्चये । नवमद्वादशौ लघू वानवासिका । नवमो गुरुरुपचित्रा । एषां मात्रासमकादीनां पादैर्बद्धं पादाकुलकं तच्च द्विकत्रिकचतुष्कसंयोगभेदात्पञ्चषष्टिविधं यदाह—

द्विजातिजा विकल्पाः स्युस्त्रिंशत्त्रिंशत्त्रिजातिजाः ।
चतुर्जातिभवाः पञ्च पञ्चषष्टिरितीरिताः ॥ १ ॥

ग्रन्थगौरवभयान्न विवृताः ॥ २० ॥

उदा०— जे जम्मह असुणियपिम्मरसा । जे मूलह अकालियविरहदसा ॥
पहारिसविसायविमुक्कचित्ता । धन्न ति मुणिवर विमलचरित्ता ॥२७॥
[ये जन्मनोऽज्ञातप्रेमरसा । ये मूलादकलितविरहदशाः ॥
प्रहर्षविषादविमुक्तचित्ताः । धन्यास्ते मुनिवरा विमल-
चरित्राः ॥ २७ ॥]

स्पष्टा ॥ २७ ॥

उदा०— पइं पियठाणाउ भंसियाओ । देव न्हियकिवाणवासियाओ ॥
तग्गयसलिलंसुएहि अणिसं । रिउन्विसिरीउ रुयंतिव भिसं ॥ २८ ॥
[त्वया प्रियस्थानाद्भ्रंशिताः । देव निजकृपाणवासिताः ॥
तद्गतसलिलाश्रुभिरनिशम् । रिपुनृपश्रियो रुदन्तीव भृशम् ॥ २८ ॥]

पइंसि त्वया प्रियस्थानात्सद्भावाद्भ्रंशिता देव स्वखड्गे पराश्रये वासिताः । असि-गतजलाश्रुभिर्नित्यं रिपुनृपश्रियो रुदन्तीव भृशम् ॥ २८ ॥

उदा०– उअ चित्तालिहियावि हु बाला । संमोहइ पीयाविव हाला ॥
पच्चक्खं पुण दिट्ठा किर सा । हालाहलमिव मारइ सहसा ॥ २९ ॥

[पश्य चित्रालिखितापि खलु बाला । संमोहयति पीतेव हाला ॥
प्रत्यक्षं पुनर्दृष्टा किल सा । हालाहलमिव मारयति सहसा ॥ २९ ॥]

स्पष्टा ॥ २९ ॥

उदा०— चंदुज्जोओ चंदणलेवो । कुवलयसेज्जा कमलुक्खेवो ॥
दाहिणमारुयउ य कप्पूरं । आहियं विरहे डहइ शरीरं ॥ ३० ॥
पायाकुलयं कस्सावि ॥

[चन्द्रोद्योतश्चन्दनलेपः । कुवलयशय्या कमलोत्क्षेपः ॥
दक्षिणमारुतश्च कर्पूरः । अधिकं विरहे दहति शरीरम् ॥ ३० ॥]

कमलोत्क्षेपः पद्मदलोपवीजनम् । कर्पूरं वीर्ये शीतलं यदाह—

कटुतिक्तोष्णमगुरु स्निग्धं वातकफापहम् ।
तिक्तं सुरभि शीतं च कर्पूरं लघु लेखनमिति ॥ ३० ॥

चउचा टगणो मुत्तावलिया पोटदुगका पुणो वयणं ॥
तं चउसु अंतजामियं मडिला पाएसु दुसुद्धसु अ आडिला ॥ २१ ॥

[चतुष्काः टगणो मुक्तावलिका; पटद्विककाः पुनर्वदनम् ।
तच्चतुर्ष्वन्तयमितं मडिला पादयोर्द्वयोर्द्वयोश्चाडिला ॥ २१ ॥]

चत्वारश्चिमात्रा एकश्चतुर्मात्रो मुक्तावलिका । एकः षण्मात्रो द्वौ चतुर्मात्रावेको द्विमात्रः पुनर्वदनम् । तदेव चतुर्ष्वपि पादेष्वन्ते यमकितं मडिला । द्वयोर्द्वयोः पादयोः पुनराडिला ॥ २१ ॥

उदा०— न सुयइ न हसइ नहु सा जंपइ । सुहय तरुणि तुह विरहे संपइ ।
केलिण्हाणभोयणविहिविसए । केवलमुत्ता वलियं ससए ॥ ३१ ॥

[न स्वपिति न हसति न खलु सा जल्पति । सुभग तरुणी तव विरहे संप्रति ।
केलिस्नानभोजनविधिविषये । केवलमुक्ता वलितं श्वसिति ॥३१॥]

केवलमुक्ता सती वलियं अत्यर्थं श्वसिति ॥ ३१ ॥

उदा०— जउ तुह तिहुयणनाह निहालिउ । तउ मइं हेलह दुहु अवहोलिउ ।
जउ तुह पवेयणु पाविउ सामिय । तउ मह पूरिय सयलावि
कामिय ॥ ३२ ॥

[यदा त्वं त्रिभुवननाथ निभालितः । तदा मया × × दुःखमव-
हेलितम् ।

यदा तव प्रवचनं प्राप्तं स्वामिन् । तदा मम पूरितं सकलमपि
कामितम् ॥ ३२ ॥]

उदा०— चिरमडिलहं भवरन्नि असत्थह । जे आसासय धम्मियसत्थहं ।
पणमह मुणियजिणागमसत्थहं । ताहँ गुरुहँ तिहुयणवि
पसत्थहं ॥ ३३ ॥

[चिरमटनशीलानां भवारण्येऽस्वस्थानां । ये आश्वासका धार्मिक-
सार्थानाम् ॥

प्रणमत ज्ञातजिनागमशास्त्रेभ्यः । तेभ्यो गुरुभ्यस्त्रिभुवनेपि
प्रशस्तेभ्यः ॥ ३३ ॥]

चिरमटनशीलानां भवारण्ये अस्वस्थानां ये आश्वासका धार्मिकसार्थानां प्रणमत ज्ञातजिनागमशास्त्रेभ्यस्तेभ्यो गुरुभ्यस्त्रिभुवनेपि प्रशस्तेभ्यः । अडिलहत्ति अटितुं शीलमेषामिति । तच्छीलाद्यर्थस्येर इति अडिर रं इति सिद्धे ' रस्य लो वा ' (हे० ८·४·३२६) इति लत्वम् ॥ ३३ ॥

उदा०— निआडि लयहं परि अडहिं सिलीमुह । मयणि निसिंय ससिसिलह
सिलीमुह ॥
तुह विरहानलि सुसियवसंतह । पहिय पवेसुवि विसमु वसंतह ॥३४॥

[निकटे लतानां पर्यटन्ति शिलीमुखाः । मदनेन निशाता शशिशि-
लायां शिलीमुखाः ॥

तव विरहानले शुष्कवसान्तस्य । पथिक प्रवेशोपि विषमो
वसन्तस्य ॥ ३४ ॥]

निकटे लतानां कुसुमसौरभात्पर्यटन्ति भ्रमराः । मदनेन निशाताः शशिशिलायां शराः । तव विरहानलशुष्कवसान्तस्य हे पथिक प्रवेशोपि विषमो वसन्तस्य दूरे प्रकर्षः ॥ ३४ ॥

पज्झाडिया टचउक्कं चरमे टे मज्झका; न विसमे जो ।
टदुगं तगणो खंडं; चउता मयणावआरुत्ति ॥ २२ ॥

[पद्धटिका टचतुष्कं चरमे टे मध्यकौ, न विषमे जः ।
टदुगं तगणः खण्डं, चत्वारस्ता मदनावतार इति ॥ २२ ॥]

चतुर्मात्रचतुष्कं पद्धटिका । तत्रान्त्ये चतुर्मात्रे मध्यकावेव । न च विषमे जगणस्तथा द्वौचतुर्मात्रावेकः पञ्चमात्रः खण्डम् । तथा चत्वारः पञ्चमात्रा मदनावतारः । इति शब्दः प्रकारार्थः । एतत्प्रकाराणि छन्दांसि सूचयति । एकः षण्मात्रश्चत्वारः समा मध्यकाश्चतुर्मात्रा हेला । अजा सप्तः पञ्चचतुर्मात्राः एकः पञ्च-

मात्रोधिकाक्षरा । द्वौ त्रिमात्रौ त्रयश्चतुर्मात्रा एकस्त्रिमात्रो मञ्जिरी । षट् पञ्च-चतुस्त्रिद्विमात्रा अरविन्दमिति षड्घटिकाप्रकाराणि । एकः षण्मात्र एकश्चतुर्मात्र एकस्त्रिमात्र उपखण्डम् । एकः षण्मात्रो द्वौ चतुर्मात्रौ खण्डितेति खण्डप्रकाराणि । एतत्त्रयमवलम्बकाख्यं ज्ञेयम् । पञ्चषट्सप्ताष्टनवपञ्चमात्राणि क्रमात् मधुकरी-नवकोकिला-कामलीला-सुतारा-वसन्तोत्सवाख्यानि मदनावतारप्रकाराणि ॥२२॥

उदा०— धन्नह उद्दामप्रणामरंगि । भालत्थलि पडिसंकंत चंगि ।
गुरुसमुद्दसूरि पयनक्खु कंति । कप्पज्झाडिआइ तुलं वहंति ॥ ३५ ॥
[धन्यानामुद्दामप्रणामरङ्गे । भालस्थले प्रतिसंक्रान्ता सुन्दरी ।
गुरोः समुद्रसूरेः पदनखकान्तिः । कल्पवृक्षस्य तुलां वहति ॥ ३५ ॥ [
नक्खुत्ति द्वितीयतुर्ययोरुपरि पूर्वः (हे० ८·२·९०) इति द्वितीयोपरि प्रथमः ॥

उदा०— वेरि ग केसरिसरहओ । साहिय ठ खंड भरहओ ।
कयसंजमो महारहो । सुव्वइ चक्कीवि भरहो ॥ ३६ ॥
[वैरिणौ केसरिशरभौ । कथितौ हि खण्डो भरतः ।
कृतसंयमो महारथः । श्रूयते चक्रयपि भरतः ॥ ३६ ॥]
स्पष्टम् ॥ ३६ ॥

उदा०— रोसगुरुगिरिसविसमाच्छिमुच्छंतए
पलयजलणंमि गयणंमि गच्छंतए ।
तंमितम्मंतरइवयणनलिणे खणे
को खमो हुज्ज मयणावयारक्खणे ॥ ३७ ॥

[रोषगुरुगिरिशविषमाक्षिणि मूर्च्छति
प्रलयज्वलने गगनं गच्छति ।
ताम्यद्रतिवदननलिने क्षणे
कः क्षमो भवेन्मदनापदारक्षणे ॥ ३७ ॥]

ताम्यद्रतिवदननलिने क्षणे कः क्षमो भवेन्मदनापदारक्षणे अपि तु न कोपि हेलाधिकाक्षरादीनि स्वयमुदाहार्याणि ॥ ३७ ॥

तदुगं टदुगं चगणो गलिययमह चदुग्टातिगचगणगुरु ।
खंजयमह टगणपंचगलहुगुरू रासयं होई ॥ २३ ॥

[तद्विकं टद्विकं चगणो गलितकमथ चद्विकटत्रिकचगणगुरवः ।
खञ्जकमथ टगणपञ्चकलघुगुरवो रासकं भवति ॥ २३ ॥]

इह हि गाथादण्डकादिवर्जं सर्वच्छन्दांसि यमाकिताङ्घ्रीणि सामान्येन गलि-तकानि । सर्वगलितकानि सानुप्रासाणि यमाकिताङ्घ्रीणि सामान्येन खञ्जकानि ।

सर्वेखञ्जकानि एकेन द्वाभ्यां त्रिभिर्वा छन्दोभिर्दीर्घीकृतानि सामान्येन शीर्षकाणि । सर्वा अपि जातयः सामान्येन रासकं यदाह—

सव्वाउ वि जाईओ पत्थावावसेण इत्थ बज्झंति ।
रासाबंधो नूणं रसायणं बुद्धगुट्ठीसु ॥

विशेषात्तु द्वा पञ्चमात्रौ द्वौ चतुर्मात्रावेकस्त्रिमात्रो गलितकम् । यमकिताङ्घ्रित्वान्नानाङ्घ्रिभेदं त्रेदम् । अथ द्वौ त्रिमात्रौ त्रयश्चतुर्मात्रा एकस्त्रिमात्रो गुरुरिति खञ्जकम् । इदमपि बहुविधम् । अथ पञ्चचतुर्मात्रा लघुर्गुरुश्च रासकम् । एतदप्यनेकधा । शीर्षकाणि त्वग्रे द्विभङ्गीत्रिभङ्गीभ्यां वक्ष्यति ॥ २३ ॥

उदा०— घणपयट्ट पियसंकह मुहि सासेहि सहिय ।
गंडफलगि सहुं पाणिहं धवलिम आरुहिय ॥
गलिय अंसुजलि सहुं नयणह विब्भम ललिय ।
तुहुं पियसहि विरहानलि बहुविह लंघलिय ॥ ३८ ॥

[घनप्रवृत्ता प्रियसंकथा मुखे श्वासैः सह
गण्डफलके सह पाणिना ध्वलिमा आरूढः ।
गलितः अश्रुजलेन सह नयनयोर्विभ्रमो ललितः
त्वं प्रियसखि विरहानलेन बहुविधं त्रासिता । ३८ ॥]

उदा०— उग्गसेणतणयाइ मिलायंतवयणाए
पबलबहलबाहपवाहझरंतनयणाए ।
चइवि जंतु उज्जंति रूवजियनलकूवरो
सच्चविओ सविलक्खं जयइ जिणवरो ॥ ३९ ॥

[उग्रसेनतनयया म्लायमानवदनया
प्रबलबहलबाष्पप्रवाहझरच्चयनया ।
त्यक्त्वा गच्छन्तुज्जयन्तं रूपजितनलकूबरः
प्रत्यक्षीकृतः सविलक्षं जयति नेमिजिनवरः । ३९ ॥]

सच्चविउत्ति दृष्टः ॥ ३९ ॥

उदा०— पणयजणकप्परुक्खसरिसं पयतामरसं
जाण नमंति सुरा सयय कयमणुक्कारिसं ।
केवलणाणपईवपयासियसयलविसया ।
ते जिणणाहा तुम्हं कुणंतु नइं सया ॥ ४० ॥

[प्रणतजनकल्पवृक्षसदृशं पदतामरसं
येषां नमन्ति सुराः सततं कृतमनउत्कर्षम् ।

केवलज्ञानप्रदीपप्रकाशितसकलविषया—
स्ते जिननाथा युष्माकं कुर्वन्तु भद्रं सदा ॥४०॥]

सा चंदलेहिया पो टचउक्कं को य जत्थ; अह दुवई।
पो पंचटा गुरू तत्थ मज्झका पढमपंचमटा ॥ २४ ॥

[सा चन्द्रलेखा षट्चतुष्कं कश्च यत्र; अथ द्विपदी।
पः पञ्चटाः गुरुस्तत्र मध्यकौ प्रथमपञ्चमटौ ॥ २४ ॥]

यत्रैकः षण्मात्रश्चत्वारश्चतुर्मात्रा एको द्विमात्रश्च सा चन्द्रलेखिका। अथ सा द्विपदी यत्रैकः षण्मात्रः पञ्चचतुर्मात्रा एको गुरुः। तत्थासि तेषु पञ्चसु चतुर्मात्रेषु मध्यौ प्रथमपञ्चमौ ॥ २४ ॥

उदा०— बहलंधारपडलमयमयमयपंकचच्चिए
नहदेवंभि पउरतरतारयकुसुमअच्चिए।
जामिणिधम्मिणीइ ओ अंकदुरेहदुरेहिया
केयंइदोणियव्व आरोविय चंदलेहिया ॥ ४१ ॥

[बहलान्धारपटलमृगमदमयपङ्कचर्चिते
नभोदेवे प्रचुरतरतारकाकुसुमार्चिते।
यामिनीधर्मिण्या ओ अङ्कद्विरेफराजिता
केतकिद्रोणिकेवारोपिता चन्द्रलेखिका ॥ ४१ ॥]

ओ इत्यव्ययं सूचनायां यदाह— ओ सूचनापश्चात्तापे। केतकीद्रोणिकेति केतकीदलं हि द्रोणाकृति स्यात् ॥ ४१ ॥

उदा०— घोरअणोरपारअंधारयपंकुच्छंगबुड्डयं
कट्ठिवि कठिणअंककिणकलिओ हढिण विलोयगड्डयं।
चंदुवइल्लु जेम ओ सद्दालि नहकच्छंमि निब्भरं
तारयनियरकिरणउक्केरातिणंकुर चरइ अइचिरं ॥ ४२ ॥

[घोरानाद्यनन्तान्धारपङ्कोत्सङ्गनिमग्नं
कृष्ट्वा कठिणाङ्ककिणकलितो हठेन विलोकरथम्।
चन्द्रवृषभो ननु शाद्वले नभःकच्छे निर्भरं
तारकानिकराकिरणोत्करतृणाङ्कुरांश्चरत्यातिचिरम् ॥ ४२ ॥]

उक्केरात्ति उत्करो 'वल्युत्करपर्यन्ताश्चर्ये वा' (हे० ८·१·५८) इति। तथा द्विपद्येव गुरुणैकेनाधिका आरनालम्। उपान्त्यलघुना पुनरूना कामलेखा। ते अप्येवमुदाहार्ये ॥ ४२ ॥

रासावलयं पो अजटगणो पो तो य; वत्थुवयणे तु।
पगणो अजटो मज्झकटगणो अजटो य पगणो य ॥ २५ ॥

[रासावलयं पो अजटगणः पस्तश्च; वस्तुवदने तु।
पगणो अजटो मज्झकटगणो अजटश्च पगणश्च ॥ २५ ॥]

एकः षण्मात्र एको जगणरहितश्चतुर्मात्र एकः षण्मात्र एकः पञ्चमात्रश्च रासावलयम्। वस्तुवदने त्वेकः षण्मात्र एको जगणरहितश्चतुर्मात्र एको मध्यकश्चतुर्मात्र एकः षण्मात्रश्च। वस्तुकमित्यन्ये। लघुषोडशकाद्द्विद्विलघुवृध्या चेदमेकचत्वारिंशद्विधम्। यदाह—

वंसो वित्तो बालो बाहो वामो बलाहओ विंदो।
विद्धो विसो विसालो विसारओ दासरो वेसो ॥ १ ॥
तुंगो रिंगो भिंगो भिंगारो भीसणो भवो भालो।
भद्दो भग्गो भद्दो भीरू तत्तो भडो भसलो ॥ २ ॥
अलओ बलओ मलओ मंजीरो मयमयो मओ माणी।
महणो मसिणो मउलो महो मुहो नइहवो मुहलो ॥ ३ ॥
एए नामनिबद्धा चउवीसकला हवंति वत्थुवया।
सोलहलहुंआउ लहूहिं बद्धमाणेहिं दोदोहिं ॥ ४ ॥

रासावलयपूर्वार्धं वस्तुवदनकोत्तरार्धं यद्वा वस्तुवदनपूर्वार्धं रासावलयोत्तरार्धमिति द्विधापि संकीर्णाख्यं छन्दः ॥ २५ ॥

उदा०— ढक्कपडहपडुपडिरवमुहरासावलउ
बहुबलबहलियहलबोलाउलजुरनिलउ।
तुह आगमणु नियवि निव भयभिब्भलनयणु
नियवि नियंबिणि चइवि पलाइउ वेरियणु ॥ ४३ ॥

[ढक्कापटहपटुप्रतिरवमुखराशावलयं
बहुबलबहलितकलकलाकुलजुरानिलयम्।
तवागमनं दृष्ट्वा नृप भयविव्हललोचनः
निजामपि नितम्बिनीं त्यक्त्वा पलायितो वैरिजनः ॥ ४३ ॥]

मुहरासावलउत्ति मुखरितदिक्चक्रम्। हलबोलुत्ति कलकलः। नियवित्ति दृष्ट्वा। नियवित्ति निजामपि ॥ ४३ ॥

उदा०— कय वयंसि दुहु दाहु देहि जक्कंगुच्चोडणु
उण्हु सासु मुहि महुरअहरसअमयविलूडणु।
अंसुसित्थु थणवत्थु वयणु विच्छाउ निहालह
दुल्लहवल्लहविप्पलंभु किंब वइलिउ वालह ॥ ४४ ॥

[× × × देहे चन्दनचर्चा
उष्णः श्वासो मुखे मधुराधररत्नामृताविलोडनः।

अश्रुसिक्तं स्तनवस्त्रं वदनं विच्छायं निभालयत
दुर्लभवल्लभाविप्रलम्भः किमिव × × × ॥]

चक्कंगुत्ति चन्दनम् ॥ ४४ ॥

रसटा उच्छाहो तइयपंचमा मज्झका अजा सेसा ।
इह चउपईसु पायं विसमसमपयाण अणुपासो ॥ २६ ॥
[रसटा उत्साहस्तृतीयपञ्चमौ मध्यकावजा शेषाः ।
इह चतुष्पदीषु प्रायो विषमसमपदानामनुप्रासः ॥ २६ ॥]

षट्चतुर्मात्रा उत्साहः । अत्रापवादः । तृतीयपञ्चमौ मध्यकौ । जगणरहिताः शेषाः । इहैतासु गाथावर्जं चतुष्पदीषु विषमसमयोः पादयोरनुप्रासः । प्रायोग्रहणात्पञ्चानन्ललितादौ समपादयोरिति ॥ २६ ॥

उदा०— नो वीरह मंडलाग्गि लग्गइ न वसइ सायरि
नो खिल्लइ महुमहउरि न य वियरइ कमलायरि ।
वेसायणसिहिणि नवि लसइ करिदसणि न पसरइ
लच्छि थिरत्तणु पुरिसह उच्छाहि परि जइ करइ ॥ ४५ ॥
[न वीराणां मण्डलाग्रे लगति न वसति सागरे
न खेलति मधुमथनोरसि न च विचरति कमलाकरे ।
वेश्याजनस्तने नापि लसति करिदशने न प्रसरति
लक्ष्मीः स्थिरत्वं पुरुषस्योत्साहे तु जगति करोति ॥४५॥]

स्पष्टः । (इति) **चतुष्पदीप्रकरणम् ॥**

[To be continued.]

EPIC STUDIES

BY

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

IV. MORE TEXT-CRITICAL NOTES.

The Mahābhārata Textual Criticism is unquestionably making progress: slow but steady progress. There are many things in it still that are obscure, but some things have undoubtedly been cleared up. Thus there seems to be consensus of opinion among scholars now on the following points.

The Mahābhārata textual tradition as we know it, is far from being quite uniform. There are now two main streams of tradition, the Northern Recension and the Southern Recension. Each recension is further sub-divided into a number of provincial versions, which differ *inter se* in many particulars. But the text of the Mahābhārata must have been in a fluid state for a very long time, almost from the beginning. Clearly therefore a wholly satisfactory restoration of the text to its pristine form—even the late so-called śatasāhasrī saṁhitā form—would be a task now beyond the powers of criticism. All that we can attempt now is to reconstruct the oldest form of the text that is possible to reach on the basis of the MS. material available. The peculiar conditions of the transmission of the epic necessitate an eclectic but cautious utilization of all MS. classes. The Kaśmīrī version *(textus simplicior)* has proved itself so far to be unquestionably the best Northern version; and the Malayālam, which in many respects is superior to the Grantha, is likewise the best Southern version *(textus ornatior)*. The agreement between the Kaśmīrī version and the Southern recension (or sometimes even merely the Malayālam version) can be taken as an indication of originality. But contamination between the different versions was inevitable and must be admitted. The Telugu MSS. are generally and the Grantha MSS. frequently contaminated from Northern sources. Even the Malayālam version, which is on the whole free from Northern influence, may show some contamination in unexpected places.

In fact, all versions, with the possible exception of the Kaśmīrī, are contaminated in various degrees. It is, therefore, often a very ticklish question to decide which agreements are original and which secondary. Notwithstanding these difficulties, experience has now shown, the case is not as desperate as it might at first appear. For one thing, there is a considerable bulk of text where the Northern and Southern versions are in full agreement, where there are no variants at all, or—more frequently—only unimportant variants: this part of the text is fortunately certain. There is then the question of the "additional" passages, that is, passages found in only one of the rival recensions. There is only one rational way of dealing with these "additional" passages: they must be carefully segregated from the rest of the text, and examined individually. The onus of proving the originality of these "additional" passages will naturally rest on him who alleges the originality: the documents speak naturally against them, but their evidence is not by any means conclusive.

These are some of the principal findings of the Prolegomena. It is assuring to find that these conclusions have been restated and endorsed emphatically by so cautious and judicious a critic as Prof. M. Winterintz in his recent review of the Ādiparvan volume, in the pages of these *Annals* (Vol. 15, pp. 159–175). The outlines of the reconstruction may, therefore, be taken to be correct, and the method of reconstruction sound. There is bound to be difference of opinion as regards details. When there are hundreds of thousands of readings to be considered and weighed, it is natural that all the selections would not satisfy all readers; and there are bound to be small slips in so enormous and difficult a work as this. But the reader has the advantage of having the full critical apparatus before him, prepared with all possible care and presented in a convenient manner. The reader may easily substitute in the text any reading that appeals to him better. Prof. Winternitz has thus shown his preferences, in the article mentioned above, in a certain number of cases, where he differs from me as regards the choice of readings. They are passages, as he tells us, which he came across in reading parts of the Critical Edition with his pupils in the Indologisches Seminar at Prag. He has thus published these criticisms after much thought and discussion with

other scholars. I gladly take this opportunity, therefore, to present my view of the case, setting forth the reasons which have guided me in the choice of the readings adopted by me in the Critical Text.

1. 3. 60 : *girā vā śaṁ-sāmi.*

I have indeed assumed that agreement between K (strictly speaking, between the original Kaśmīrī version, or at least the Śāradā MS. Śı) and S is a sufficient though not a necessary proof of originality. But there is no agreement here between K and S. Ko, it is true, represents the version K in a comparatively pure form (Prolegomena, p. L); but Ko is not K; and Kı is, on the whole, decidedly a better representative of the Kaśmīrī version than Ko (Prolegomena, p. XLIX). Now here Ko and Kı have different readings: Ko agrees with S, and Kı with the rest of N! This fact has been ignored by Winternitz. As for the agreement of Ñı and S, I have pointed out, in the Prolegomena (p. LIX), that "even the manuscripts of distant Nepal are not wholly free from contamination from some Southern source or sources (direct or indirect)." Thus the agreement between Ñı and S cannot be considered as compelling evidence, by any means. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that this agreement between Ko Ñı and S concerns merely the *omission of one syllable*; and it is clear that this trifling omission could quite easily take place *utterly independently* in the respective groups Therefore, even the documental probability in favour of the reading preferred by Winternitz is not at all strong. It is, in fact, considerably weakened by the following (intrinsic) consideration. N has *vā* and a dodeka (hypermetric) line; S omits *vā* and has the eleven-syllable (normal) line. This is a circumstance suspicious in itself. It is by no means certain or necessary that all the pādas of our Triṣṭubhs should be of the eleven-syllable pattern. Some of these hypermetric pādas can indeed be made normal by the omission of one or more of the additional syllables, often merely of an expletive. But there are many lines which defy such athetization; for instance, the second pāda of the very *next* stanza (1. 3. 61 : *nāsatyadasrau sunasau vaijayantau*). Such lines ought to

warn us against giving hasty preference to these normalizing readings. I have cited elsewhere (Prolegomena, p. XCIII) clear instances of efforts made by redactors to correct hypermetric pādas of Ślokas. Similar efforts are to be found among the variants of our Triṣṭubhs. But as the scheme of the Triṣṭubh is more variable and arbitrary, or at least more complicated and obscure, it is difficult to prove the alterations made by the different scribes or editors. In this particular instance, however, it seems to me, there is no reason to assume that the original pāda was *not* hypermetric, because our pāda is a standard hypermeter—a type of which Hopkins has cited numerous instances. Cf. No. 6 of the typical, oft-recurring varieties (mentioned by Hopkins in *The Great Epic*, p. 275):

– ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – .

The scansion of *our* line is:

⏑ – – – – ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ,

which, it will be seen, is a pāda of the identical pattern.

From the examples given by Hopkins, I will cite here only the following:

3. 13. 193 *mamaiva* (*tau*) *vāmyau parigṛhya rājan*
5. 42. 9 *tatrānu* (*te*) *yānti na taranti mṛtyum*
5. 48. 77 *vegena*(*iva*) *śailam abhihatya Jambhaḥ*
13. 94. 13 *na* (*hy*) *utsahe draṣṭum iha jīvalokam*
Hari. 2. 72. 44 *vi-añjano jano* (*'tha*) *vidvān samagraḥ*

Are we to omit the bracketed syllables—or some similar syllable—in each case, on the ground that they disturb the metre, if not the sense? We do not possess yet the collations of all these passages; but I am confident that there will always be some MSS. if not versions (or even a whole recension), which omit these extra syllables, for one reason or other. There is this other consideration. The ancients had as good an ear for the rhythm of their Triṣṭubhs as we have, if not better. Why and how was the offending syllable first inserted, and then tolerated by generations of editors? All N MSS. except D2 contain the hypermeter. Is it not, under these circumstances, more probable that the *original* was a hypermetric line, which was emended by some redactors in conformity with the later ideas of the regular Upajāti metres?

This particular hypermeter is moreover antique, for we find (as Hopkins has pointed out) already an example of it in Muṇḍ. Up. 3. 1, 6 :

yatra (tat) satyasya paramaṁ nidhānam,

with the scansion ⏑ – – – ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, which differs from our line as regards the quantity of the first two syllables only ; ours has an iambic opening, the Muṇḍaka line trochaic. Here, also, we can with impunity omit the bracketed syllable (*tat*), and get a line which is metrically a "better" line, but obviously not the original one. I am, therefore, fully persuaded that in all such cases we have original hypermeters. These old stanzas were not built at all on the pattern of the later, more regular, classical metres, but followed some other finer rhythmic principle, which escapes our methods of rough analysis by syllable-counting. —Now as regards the sense. The exact explanation of the phrase *girā vā śaṁsāmi* is, I admit, difficult. Nīlakaṇṭha offers the facile explanation : *vāśabdaś cārthe* (i. e. *vā* = *ca*), which can hardly be considered satisfactory. Devabodha analyses the phrase into *girāv+ā+śaṁsāmi* (with *girau*, loc. of *gir*), but that hangs together with his interpretation of the Aśvins as the Sun and the Moon, which is not very convincing. It is possible to interpret the words as *girā vā "śaṁsāmi* (i. e. *vai+āśaṁsāmi*), as is done by some editors. On the other hand, it is also possible to emend *vā* to *vāṁ* ("ye two," acc. dual), which would give a satisfactory sense. This reading, which is mentioned as a pāṭha by Arjunamiśra, is found in only one of our inferior MSS. (D_2). It seemed to me such an obvious emendation that I did not like to adopt it on such slender MS. evidence, and I have hesitatingly (as shown by the wavy line) set in the text the old Northern reading *vā*, which is unquestionably a *lectio difficilior*. The whole hymn is, however, obscure and full of interpretative and other difficulties. It will have to be studied and dealt with more minutely before we can be sure of its text and meaning. But I am fully persuaded that *vā* (or some such word) did form part of the original line, and it would be a mistake to omit it.

1. 3. 145 *Kurukṣetre nivasatām.*

Why Winternitz should have any doubts about *nivasatām*, I fail to understand. It is merely an augmentless imperfect, and

augmentless imperfects are most common in the Mbh., especially in the case of verbs with prepositions, as in this case. Even Whitney (*Sanskrit Grammar*, § 587d) remarks: "Besides the augmentless aorist-forms with *mā* prohibitive, there are also found occasionally in the later language augmentless imperfect-forms (very rarely aorist-forms), which have the same value as if they were augmented, and are for the most part examples of metrical license. They are *especially frequent in the epics*[1] (whence some scores of them are quotable)." To this, in 1884 (that is now more than fifty years ago), Holtzmann added the note:

"Beispiele von fehlendem Augmente des Imperfects sind ziemlich häufig, besonders in Compositum und hier wieder in solchen, die mit auf *a* auslautenden Präpositionen, *ava*, *upa*, *apa*, zusammengesetzt sind: aber nicht ganz vereinzelt ist der Mangel nur bei *bhavan* sie wurden 3, 110, 3 = 9970. 11, 27, 14 = 813. 16, 1, 9 = 9 u. a."

He has given the following examples: *pṛcchat*, *pɪtan*, *cintayan*; *manyadhvɪm*, *budhyetām*; *vyapagacchatām*; *adhyavasyan*, *avabudhyata*, *avatiṣṭhata*, *avekṣetām*, *avɪpadyanta*, *paryavasthāpayat*; *abhyupamantrayat*, *upaliṣṭhetām*, *upanṛtyanta*; *abhiṣṭuvan*, *abhidhāvetām*, *abhyarcayat*; *samutliṣṭhan*, *utthāpayan*, *uccārayan*; *pɪripālayan*; *nivartayetām*; *nirjayɪt*; *saṁgṛhṇītām*; *svīkarot*. The Critical Ed. has, besides *nivasatām*, the following: *ṛdhyata* 1. 58. 8, *avabudhyata* 120. 11, *avatiṣṭhat* 189. 11, *avamaṁsthāḥ* (no v. l.!) 189. 21, *samabhidravat* 218. 28. There are many others, less certain. A number of instances will be found in the Tentative Edition of the Virāṭa-parvan by Mr. Utgikar; the Critical Edition of this parvan, I may add, will again contain quite a few instances of this particular solecism. How many examples are really needed before it is admitted that augmentless imperfect-forms occur regularly in the Mbh., and we cease to take of "correct" and "incorrect" forms? The augmentless forms are quite as "correct" as the other as far as the Mbh. is concerned. Winternitz points out that the "correct" form "is given by the Kaśmīrian transcript K1, by the Maithilī and Bengalī MSS., by Arjunamiśra, and by some Southern MSS.," and therefore he prefers it. It is a wonder that

[1] Italics mine.

it is not given by more MSS.; because the tendency is always to change an "incorrect" form into the "correct" one. We have here to look not to the MSS. which have the "correct" form, but to those which have not the "correct" form! Let us look at it in another way. If *nivasatām* be the original reading, then there are two ways of improving the text: (i) keep *vasatām* of the original and change the word to *nyavasatām* and thus make it "correct" (Central sub-recension and Malayālam, *independently*), or (ii) keep *ni-* intact, and change the word to the present *nivasataḥ* ("K" version); both are represented here. If, on the other hand, *nyavasatām* were the original reading, no one would think of changing it later to *nivasatām*; and *nivasataḥ* of K would also be quite unintelligible. The text reading *nivasatām* thus explains, to a certain extent, how the other readings may have arisen and has therefore been preferred. And I think there cannot be much doubt about its correctness and originality.

1. 3. 183 *prabrūhi vā kiṁ kriyatāṁ dvijendra.*

If Winternitz prefers *me kim*, he must, at the same time, also prefer *karaṇīyam adya | yenāsi kāryeṇa* etc., found in N (except K B4 D2.5); but he did not realize it. The *me kim* of the Vulgate cannot be joined to *kriyatāṁ dvijendra* of K B4 D2.5 S. There is no MS. which reads *prabrūhi me kiṁ kriyatāṁ dvijendra | śuśrūṣur asmy adya vacas tvadīyam.* The reading of the line proposed by Winternitz will be like an animal with the head of a horse and tail of a donkey! The text reading of the entire line—nay, of the entire stanza—occurs *verbatim* in K1. 3. 4. I think, the original *Northern* reading was probably *prabrūhi vā kim*, as in text. If *vā* be useless after *prabrūhi*, it is more than useless after *kim*, where Winternitz would have it. It is conceivable that the (original) Northern reading (preserved in K1. 3. 4.) is corrupt, and we ought to give here preference to S. That is another matter. Not being convinced that *vā kim* of K1. 3. 4 was "secondary" or corrupt form of *kiṁ vā* of S, I have adopted, in the text, *vā kim* underlining it to show that it is less than certain. But *māṁ kim, māṁ yat, me kim, me tvam, vākyam* of the Northern MSS. are clearly all secondary, and need not be considered at all.

1. 55. 3 *śrotuṁ pātraṁ ca rājaṁs tvam.*

I have taken the Śāradā MS. only as the *norm* for my edition; I have not undertaken to reproduce its text *verbatim*. The *śrotṛpātraṁ ca rājaṁs tvām* of Śi K is opposed by *all other* MSS. And, moreover, as there is agreement between B D and S—more or less independent versions—on the reading *śrotuṁ pātraṁ ca rājaṁs tvam*, this reading is indicated as the original, and has been adopted, without wavy line; a procedure quite in accord with the principles of text reconstruction laid down in the Prolegomena (p. XCI). Winternitz finds *śrotṛpātraṁ ca rājaṁs tvām* of K "better Sanskrit," but I must frankly confess that I could not make head or tail of it, and I cannot understand it even now. The text reading is the same as the reading of the Vulgate and of the Southern recension, and is besides quite clear, and, as far as I can judge, flawless Sanskrit. It may be translated: "And thou art, O King, a fit person to hear (Vyāsa's Bhāratī Kathā)," a sense which suits the context admirably. Further more, K has here an entirely different reading for the whole stanza. If we adopt the reading preferred by Winternitz, then we must read the stanza as:

śrotṛpātraṁ ca rājaṁs tvāṁ prapyeyaṁ Bhāratī śubhā।
guror vaktraparispandaṁ mudā prcchāhatīva mām॥,

which is appreciably different from the text. But the variants of the other versions do not at all suggest that this is the *original* reading. Our text represents the reading of the Southern recension, which has here, in my opinion, the greatest probability.

1. 56. 8: *kathaṁ vyatikraman dyūte.*

It is natural that W. should demand wavy lines for this verse. I admit the line is most puzzling, and I only lighted upon the solution of the puzzle by accident, after prolonged wrestling with it. An explanatory note was really called for, because the first line is absolutely unintelligible unless one knows the particular meaning of the root *vyatikram* intended here, which is "to wrongly submit or surrender oneself to, wrongly take to (a thing or person, acc.)". It is a rare meaning, but not unknown. It is given in the dictionaries of Monier Williams (ed. 1899, s. v.

vyatikram), and Macdonell (s. v. *kram*). It appears not to be given in PW, but pw has (s. v. *kram*): "verkehrter Weise sich einer Sache (Acc.) hingeben". One example of the use is (B.) 12. 174. 36 :

atha ye buddhim aprāptā vyatikrāntāś ca mūḍhatām ।
te 'tivelaṁ prahṛṣyanti saṁtāpam apayānti ca ॥

Here *vyatikrāntāś ca mūḍhatām* must mean " those who have surrendered themselves (wrongly) to folly" ; no other meaning will fit, as far as I can judge. Our stanza is, therefore, to be translated thus :

" How (indeed) did the two sons of Pṛthā, as well as the two sons of Mādrī, (tamely) surrender themselves to the tiger among men (Yudhiṣṭhira), who was being cheated at dice by those wicked men, and (how did they) follow him ? "

This strange submission consists in their consenting, in the first instance, to be used as pledges or stakes in that dire game of dice, and acquiescing dumbly to everything that Yudhiṣṭhira did. The Southern recension is unanimous on the point that the doubtful word was some form of *vyatikram* ; and the eight readings recorded in our crit. app. show that it must have been some word which was as unintelligible to the scribes and editors as it is to Winternitz. Winternitz is again mistaken in thinking that the S reading is *vyatikramadyūte.* This is the reading not of S but of only *two* MSS. (G2.6) out of the thirteen Southern MSS. of our crit. app. I myself have followed S in reading *vyatikraman dyūte*, which is the reading of *five* of the Southern MSS. In fact, my text represents the reading of the *majority* of the Southern MSS., and is, therefore in a sense, the true S reading. It is needless to add that *vinirjitam* of "K" and *vyasaninam* of the Central sub-recension, are emendations, made by those who could not make head or tail of the original. For it is clear that no one would change *vinirjitam* or *vyasaninam* to any of the Southern readings, while the reverse would be the most natural thing in the world. It is further worthy of note that while the Northern MSS. have the easier reading, there is no agreement between the Kaśmīrī and the Central sub-recension. They must therefore represent independent alterations of a third original. — Following certain other S MSS. P. P. S. Sastri has adopted the reading

vyatikramaṁ dyūte (without recording any v. l.) ; but I am inclined to think that this is a wrong analysis of °*kramandyūte* which in S MSS. stands for both °*kramaṁ dyūte* and °*kraman dyūte*. — Now that I have explained how the awkward word is to be interpreted, I have no doubt that Winternitz will agree with me that the text reading is correct.

1. 57. 20 : *kriyatē *ucchrayo nṛpaiḥ.*

There has been extraordinary reluctance among scholars to face the fact that the Mbh. text once contained far more examples of hiatus than what one deems right or reasonable for such an ancient and venerable text. But there is hardly any excuse now for such hesitation. On p. XCIII of the Prolegomena, I have given numerous instances of the surreptitious efforts of scribes and redactors to eliminate hiatus, which show that hiatus was an anathema to them. It is well known that the Sandhi is not rigidly observed in the Vedic Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upaniṣads, in Pali, and in Prakrit works. Why must the Sandhi then be rigidly observed in the popular epic, a work which has its roots firmly embedded in the soil of the heroic poetry of the Sūtas, and which has throughout preserved vestiges of its humble origin. The only reference (so far as I know), in the poem itself, to the Mbh. being a Kāvya (*kṛtaṁ mamedaṁ bhagavan kāvyaṁ paramapūjitam*) has now disappeared with the Brahmā-Gaṇeśa interpolation in the Ādi, and we are thus left only with a Purāṇa, Itihāsa or Ākhyāna. A specimen of this class of work may surely contain sporadic instances of hiatus, without our being scandalized. It is futile, I may add, to try to apply to this category of *popular* literature the rules of the dialect of the high-brow Śiṣṭas. We may expect every conceivable solecism in the language of the Mbh., and we find, in fact, an amazing variety of them ; the hiatus, which was extremely common, is only one of such so-called irregularities. But for this strange modern antipathy towards hiatus, Winternitz would have recognized that the emendation is quite legitimate and certain. Winternitz considers the Northern readings but wholly ignores the Southern, which is fatal to his argument. S does not contain either *ati* (or *abhi*) which is found only in certain N MSS., and is besides superfluous.

TG have recast the line : *kurvanty ete dhvajocchrayam*, with *kurvanti* (note the *active* voice !), that is, a form of the root *kṛ* (like *kriyate* of N) at the head of the pāda. All these versions have the verb, it may be noted, in the *beginning* of the pāda. M contains the same three words as ours *kriyate*, *ucchrayaḥ* and *nṛpaiḥ*, but transposes *kriyate* and *ucchrayaḥ*, reading *ucchrayaḥ kriyate nṛpaiḥ*. This is the key-reading, which gives a clue to the original. You can explain everything else, but you cannot explain the *transposition* in M *(which normally ought to agree with TG)*, unless you start from the hypothetical *kriyate *ucchrayo nṛpaiḥ*. If you argue, on the other hand, that the reading of M is an arbitrary variant, which is in no need of a special explanation by means of an emendation, then there is no need of a critical edition either; because all MSS. contain approximately the same text and the same story, and the few differences could be regarded as arbitrary variations which needed no explanation. With this reading, containing the opprobious hiatus, you can explain *all* the variations. N inserts a futile and innocuous *abhi* (corrupted in some MSS. to *ati*) to destory the hiatus. M transposes the *ucchrayo*, which is the chief cause of the trouble ; TG recast the original, and substitute a reading which fits badly in the context, with an active *kurvanti* (having no proper subject), after *kriyate* in stanza 19. That is how I regard this little complex of readings, and hence the emendation, of whose correctness I myself have no doubt whatsoever.

1. 57. 21 : *hāsyarūpeṇa śaṅkaraḥ*.

This reading is undoubtedly, as Winternitz rightly observes, the *lectio difficilior*, but there is not the slightest doubt about its being the original reading, judging by *documentary evidence*, and therefore, there is absolutely no need of underlining it. It is, in the first instance, the reading of the *whole of M*, which Winternitz appears not to have realized. I have stated, as my opinion, that the Malayālam version is the best representative of the Southern recension (Prolegomena, p. LXXIII). I am glad to note that Winternitz (*Annals*, Vol. 15, p. 170) agrees with me, and that even my learned friend Vidyāsāgara Prof. P. P. S. Sastri now endorses it. In the introduction (p. iii) o Vol. IV of his edition

of the Southern Recension, Sastri writes: "Not having been subject to Nāyak influence in any manner whatsoever, the tradition handed down by the Malayālam Manuscripts preserved the Grantha text, *in a purer and more unmixed form than even some comparatively early Grantha manuscripts, as the Malayalam MSS. do not at all seem to have come into contact with the Northern Recension till very recent times.*" [1] Now this reading of the Malayālam version is supported by the reading of the Kaśmīrī version; for though Śı is missing, yet Kı (India Office 2137) has the corrupt *hāmyahāmya°* (for *haṁsa°* of the rest of N), and it is well known that in Nāgarī copies of Śāradā MSS. *s* is frequently transcribed wrongly as *m*; so that we have to read *hāsyahāsya* (dittography). The reading is further borne out by Devabodha's gloss (the MS. reads *hāsa°* for our *hāsya°*): *hāsarūpeṇa krīḍāvatārarūpeṇa* (cf. p. 990 of the Crit. Ed. for the gloss), where *haṁsa*, in any case, would not fit, for it is not clear how *haṁsarūpa* would be *krīḍāvatārarūpa*. Further, *śaṁkaraḥ* is the reading of all MSS. except Bş Dn, which have *īśvaraḥ* (an obvious emendation) and TG which has *vāsavaḥ* (which must likewise be an emendation), originally, perhaps, only a gloss. Here practically the whole of N is supported by M. *śaṁkaraḥ* is here not a *name* of Indra, but only an epithet, an attribute meaning "auspicious, beneficent". Thus in (B.) 3. 229. 6 *śaṁkara* is used with reference to Skanda: *lokānāṁ śaṁkaro bhava*. In (B) 3. 201. 29 the epithet *maheśvara* ("great lord") is applied to Viṣṇu: *tvayi nityaṁ maheśvara*. Further in 1. 58. 43, the epithets *īśa* ("lord") and *śaṁbhu* ("auspicious") are applied to god Brahmā: *prabhavaḥ sarvabhūtānāṁ īśaḥ śaṁbhuḥ prajāpatiḥ*. This shows that the words *śaṁkara*, *śaṁbhu*, *īśa*, *maheśvara*, and so on, which are now generally regarded as proper names of Mahādeva, were still not specialized, but were applied to other gods as well, as mere epithets, descriptive of their beneficence or omnipotence.

1. 57. 58: *āvayor dṛśyator ebhiḥ*.

Here it is not difficult to see on what authority the adopted reading rests. The footnotes give here the reading of N Vı B D

[1] Italics mine.

(except D_5) of the Northern, and of G of the Southern recension. The adopted reading (which is partly supported by the *dṛśyayor* of G_3) is, therefore, the reading of the remaining MSS. K D_5 T M (since Ś1 is missing, as mentioned on p. 244, at the beginning of the adhy., or as may be seen from the table on p. XXIV of the Prolegomena). The Vulgate lacks here the support of the Grantha version, which has an entirely different reading:

āvayoś ca katham brahman bhaviṣyati samāgamaḥ |

The Grantha version dispenses altogether with the troublesome *dṛśyatoḥ* of the original (or the unsuitable v. l. *dṛṣṭayoḥ* of the Vulgate), thus revealing its secondary character. The line was recast in the archetype "Sigma" (see the pedigree in the Prolegomena, p. XXX). The textual relations here are ideal, being clear as crystal. Winternitz is right in regarding it as pass. part. praes. with active ending. Passive forms with active endings are quite common in the epic. I adduce a few examples to dispel the remaining doubts of sceptics: 1. 11. 15 *iṣyati* (v. l. *iṣyeta, arhati* etc.); 16. 15 *ākṣipyataḥ* (no. v. l.!); 34. 13 *mokṣyanti* (v. l. *mokṣyante*); 47. 9 *saṁbhriyantu* (v. l. °*bharantu*, °*bhavantu*); 48. 12 *dahyatām* (no v. l.!); 48. 13 *pacyatām* (v. l. *jvalatām, dahyatām*); 48. 22 *dīryati* (v. l. *śīryati*); 53. 6 *vidūyatā* (no. v. l.!); 71 44 *dṛśyet* (v. l. *paśyet*); 124. 24 *uhyantaḥ* (v. l. *uhyante*); 147. 8 *vyucchidyet* (v. l. *ucchindyāt, chidyeta*); 165. 24 *hriyasi* (v. l. *gṛhyase, hriyase, prayāsi*); 202. 19 *adṛśyadbhiḥ* (v. l. *adṛśyaiś ca, adṛśyau tau*); 217. 13 *mathyataḥ* (v. l. *manthane*); 218. 49 *praviśīryataḥ*; 219. 5 *adṛśyan* (v. l. *adṛśyā, nyapatan*).

1. 92. 2: *Gaṅgā śrīr iva rūpiṇī.*

The configuration of the MSS. as well as the intrinsic merit of the readings are different in the two lines. That is how Ś1 K1 appear to be of greater authority in the first line than in the second. The *salilāt* of the text is found in *all* MSS. except Ś1 K1 (S only transposing the word: Text *salilāt tasmāt*, S *Gaṅgā salilāt*), and is, therefore, for one thing, obviously far better documented than *śayanāt* of Ś1 K1 only. In the second line, therefore, we have, practically, only two readings: *śayanāt* of Ś1 K1, against *salilāt* of the rest; therefore the reading of Ś1 K1 has been rightly re-

jected. Such is not the case in the first line. Here we have *three* nearly independent readings (Śi Ki *Gaṅgā śrīr iva rūpiṇī*: Vulgate *G. strīrūpadhāriṇī*: S *lobhanīyatamākṛtiḥ*, which latter is our *fourth* pāda). Here, while the two Northern readings are somewhat allied to each other, the Southern reading is entirely different, having very little connection with the Northern. None of the readings can be mechanically derived from the other, and intrinsically they are all more or less of the same value. Such being the case, the Northern tradition was, as usual, followed. Winternitz does not say why he thinks *strīrūpadhāriṇī* is better than the other. The reason why I chose *śrīr iva rūpiṇī* ("beautiful like Lakṣmī") is that it is nearer in sense to *lobhanīyatamākṛtiḥ* ("with a most enticing form") of S, than *strīrūpadhāriṇī* ("assuming the form of a woman") of the Vulgate. I have here explained in detail the exact reasons which have weighed with me in making the difficult choice, but as a matter of fact, they are all three epic *iterata*, and these *iterata* keep alternating with each other indiscriminately. In such cases, it is impossible to decide, with certainty, which is original and which is secondary, and the matter is also of no great consequence. The uncertainty of the text tradition has been duly indicated by a wavy line.

1. 92. 7 : *rājan kanyāṁ varastriyam.*

I am glad Winternitz has drawn my attention to a wrong reading which has crept in here, through oversight, and I gladly take this opportunity to publish a correction. The reading I had intended to adopt, or at least I should have adopted, is precisely the one advocated by Winternitz : *rājan kāmyāṁ vara°*, that of the Kaśmīrī version (ŚiKo-2.4). The fact is that just for first two words of the last pāda of this stanza, there is a confusing array of readings in Northern MSS., all meaning, more or less, the same thing : *rājan kāmyām* (ŚiKo-2.4), *rājan divyām* (K3), *divyāṁ kanyām* (Vulgate), *kāmyāṁ divyām* (B), *divyāṁ kāmyām* (N1.3). Under these circumstances, clearly, the Kaśmīrī reading should have been adopted, according to the principles enunciated in the Prolegomena, but through a clerical error *kanyām* (of the Vulgate)

has crept in, in place of *kāmyām* (of the Kaśmīrī), which was intended.—I do not agree with Winternitz however when he says that the epithet *kanyā* is "not very appropriate for Gaṅgā". It would be quite appropriate, as far as I can see. It would imply that she was an unmarried virgin, which is the regular meaning of *kanyā*; compare:

1. 57. 63 *uvāca matpriyaṁ kṛtvā kanyaiva tvaṁ bhaviṣyasi*

1. 104. 12 *prādāc ca tasyāḥ kanyātvaṁ punaḥ sa paramadyutiḥ*

(B) 3. 307. 16 *sā mayā saha saṁgamya punaḥ kanyā bhaviṣyasi*

It would then answer Pratīpa's objection (1. 92. 6):

nāhaṁ parastriyaṁ kāmāt gaccheyaṁ varavarṇini.

But *kanyām* is not supported by the MS. evidence, and *kāmyām* is: that is the main point. The consituted text should therefore be corrected accordingly by changing *kanyāṁ* to *kāmyāṁ*.

1. 92. 45 : *na ca tāṁ kiṁcanovāca.*

Here I do not agree with Winternitz. I am fully persuaded that the text is quite in order. The first mistake Winternitz makes is in thinking that *sa* is the reading of ŚıK; it is actually given in the crit. app. as the reading of Śı Ko.3.4 D5. Winternitz has overlooked the fact that Śı differs from Kı, which is in itself suspicious; and K2 is also excluded from the group. If *ca* has to be translated by "but", there is no help for it; for *ca* has frequently to be rendered in that way. For the Mbh., I may add, *ca* and *tu* are almost synonymous, *tu* having entirely lost the specific adversative force. It is quite clear that there must have been a period in the history of Sanskrit, as it was spoken, in which the two small particles *ca* and *tu* were confused in the mouths of the common people, and were used indiscriminately. That is, in fact, the only explanation of the curious particle *cu* one comes across in certain Aśoka inscriptions, which is evidently a combination of *ca* and *tu*. The Śāradā MS. undoubtedly offers a "better" reading, but, as a comparison of the different versions shows, it is a clear *innovation* or emendation. That the original had something like *na ca* (of the text) is proved by TG, which has *na tu*, only in a slightly different combination:

uvāca kiṁcin na tu tām, M differs from TG, and has a third combination, with a new word *vacanaṁ*, not found in the other versions: *novāca vacanaṁ kiṁcit*, which has neither *na ca* nor *na tu*, and which does not help to solve our difficulty. The *sa* of some of the Kaśmīrī MSS. is not necessary for the context, as the subject *mahīpatiḥ* ("the king") occurs in the same line.

1. 92. 50: *aṣṭeme Vasavo devāḥ.*

Practically all the MSS. except those of the D version begin with *aṣṭau*, which makes it probable (if it does not directly prove) that the original must have begun with *aṣṭau*; therefore *imeṣṭau* (one of the readings preferred by Winternitz) must be ruled out, as an emendation, probably of a *lectio difficilior*. The (final) *me* of Śi Ki and the initial *ime* of some Nāgarī MSS. suggest that the original was the conjectural **aṣṭeme*, which combines the characteristics of these groups, and which is very close to the *aṣṭa me* of N3. It is also suggested, to a certain extent, by the Bengali *aṣṭau ye*. The conjectural *aṣṭeme*, is in fact, the hypothetical form to which the various readings *aṣṭau me*, *aṣṭa me*, *aṣṭau ye*, *aṣṭau hi*, and *imeṣṭau* seem to converge. The convergence is not a matter of which a mathematical proof can be supplied. If Winternitz does not see the convergence, he may substitute for the text reading any of the five readings found in the MSS. I did not know which to choose; hence the emendation. The change is not quite unmotivated. The motive appears to have been the seemingly irregular Sandhi (double crasis): *aṣṭau* + *ime* = *aṣṭā* + *ime* = *aṣṭeme*. But as a matter of fact, there need not have been any irregularity at all in the Sandhi, for *aṣṭeme* may simply be resolved into *aṣṭā* + *ime*, or *aṣṭa* + *ime*, since besides the heavier *aṣṭau*, both the forms *aṣṭā* and *aṣṭa* were in use, of which the latter (*aṣṭa*) particularly was used, I think, in all periods of the language (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar § 483). The translation of Winternitz is not quite accurate; at least it is not literal. The stanza has no word for "obtained birth," which Winternitz interpolates into it, in order to justify the reading *me*, "of me," which he has further to explain as "in my body". Translate: "Those gods, the Eight Vasus, had on account of Vasiṣṭha's curse become men (lit. attained the state of men)."

1. 93. 1 : *mānuṣīṁ tanum āgatāḥ.*

The agreement between S and Ñ V1 Dn D1 signifies absolutely nothing for the *original* reading ; it is purely the result of conflation. V1 is, moreover, not a *version*; it is merely a single MS., written in Maithilī script, and as such, capable of showing any reading at random. Again, the agreement of Ñ V1 with Dn and S against B Da is most unnatural and thoroughly suspicious. In other words, the MS. evidence here is extremely confused. Ordinarily I would have adopted the Ś. K reading *mānuṣatvam upāgatāḥ*, which has occurred already in the previous adhy. (1. 92. 50), and occurs again in (B) 3. 83. 66; but owing to the *mānuṣīm* of B, which recurs in S, I have given here preference to the reading of the Bengali version. I may point out that it is the reading of the entire Bengali version, and not of a few unimportant MSS., as Winternitz imagines. The readings are these :

Ś1K *mānuṣatvam upāgatāḥ*
B *mānuṣīṁ tanum āgatāḥ*
S *mānuṣīṁ yonim āgatāḥ*,

This being the constellation of the readings, *mānuṣīm* and *āgatāḥ* are as good as certain, as suggested by the agreement between B and S. Therefore the real variant is only *tanum* : *yonim*. It is likely that the *original* was *yonim* which was corrupted, in N, to *tanum*, and then the original pāda *mānuṣīṁ tanum āgatāḥ* (preserved in Bengali only) was replaced by the recurrent tag *mānuṣatvam upāgatāḥ*; but it is most unlikely that the latter was the original which was changed in B to *mānuṣīṁ tanum ā°*, and in S to *mānuṣīṁ yonim ā°*. In any case, the Kaśmīrī reading must be rejected here as secondary (cf. Prolegomena, p. LXII), as shown by the evidence of B and S. Dn D1 appear to have got their *yonim* from S (ibid. p. LXVII), and Ñ V1 possibly from Dn.

1. 93. 11 : *devadevarṣisevitam.*

Winternitz is mistaken in thinking that the hermitage in question was frequented by Ṛṣis *only*, and not by gods as well. In fact, the talk is not about a hermitage at all, but about the

forest (*vanam*) containing the hermitage. Moreover, it was not an ordinary hermitage, but the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha, situated on the slopes of the celestial mount Meru (1. 93. 15 f.):

Vasiṣṭho nāma iti sa khyāta āpava ity uta ॥ 15
tasyāśramapadaṁ puṇyaṁ mṛgapakṣiganānvitam ।
Meroḥ pārśve nagendrasya sarvartukusumāvṛtam ॥ 16

The forest, therefore, in which Vasiṣṭha's hermitage was situated, was inhabited and frequented by divine ṛṣis (like Vasiṣṭha) *and by gods* (like the Vasus). That is how, in fact, the Vasus found themselves in that hermitage on that fateful day. If the forest were not frequented by gods, the Vasus would not have come there at all. If we adopt the reading *devā devarṣisevitam* (which is plausible), then the compound must be taken to mean " frequented by *gods and ṛṣis*", (and *not* by divine ṛṣis, as Winternitz understands it). According to our text, the forest was frequented by gods and divine ṛṣis. As will be seen, there is not much to choose between the readings, but I prefer the text, because only the divine ṛṣis like Vasiṣṭha could reach those regions, not ordinary ṛṣis. Moreover, such adjectives (forming the entire second half of the line) are extremely common in the descriptions of sacred forests, hermitages, tīrthas, with many variants, as may be seen from the following examples from the Āraṇyaka (Bom. Ed.):

3. 82. 41 *devarṣipitṛsevita*
84. 46 *siddhagandharvasevita*
87. 5 *rājarṣiganasevita*
89. 7 *devagandharvasevita*
89. 8 *devarṣiganasevita*
90. 21 *brahmarṣiganasevita*
156. 10 *siddhacāraṇapūjita*
and 145. 41 *devadevarṣipūjita,*

which latter has our combination *deradevarṣi*, and in which *deva* cannot be separated from *devarṣi*, for the stanza reads:

tatrāpaśyata dharmātmā devadevarṣipūjitam ।
Naranārāyaṇasthānaṁ Bhāgīrathyopaśobhitam ॥

The adjective *devadevarṣisevitam* (or °*pūjitam*) is used with reference to the most sacred and inaccessible regions like the

penance groves on Meru or Gandhamādana, or on the Himāalyan peaks. I do not wish to suggest that the simple phrase *devarṣi-sevitam* would not have sufficed here. I only want to show that there is nothing wrong with the text reading, which is proved by the Kaśmīrī version (Śr K). From the graphical point of view, the difference between the readings (*devā* and *deva-*) is so slight that the documentary evidence actually counts here for very little. It is just owing to this uncertainty that the reading has been underlined in the critical text.

1. 214. 9 : *Dharmarāje *atiprītyā.*

Here again we notice Winternitz's prejudice against hiatus, to which I had drawn attention in the discussion on 1. 57. 20, above. But here my case is stronger still. As far as the Vedic tradition is concerned, *e* (like *o*) remained unchanged before *a* which was generally elided in the written text, but, according to the evidence of metre, must almost invariably in the Ṛgveda and generally in the Yajurveda and Atharvaveda, be pronounced whether written or not. According to the statistics prepared by Vedic scholars, it must be pronounced in the Ṛgveda in 99 per cent of the cases, in the Atharvaveda and the metrical portions of the Yajurveda, in about 80 per cent of its occurrences. This shows that in the older stages of the language, at any rate, any Sandhi between final *e* (or *o*) and initial *a* was rare. The rule becomes more and more rigid as we advance, until with classical authors, ignorance or violation of the rule came to be regarded as a capital blunder. Now the Mbh, whatever its age be, stands unquestionably midway between the Vedic and the classical epoch, and therefore partakes naturally of the linguistic characteristics of both. In the Vedic literature, where the scribes or editors did not dare to add even a single syllable to the received text, the later antipathy towards hiatus shows itself in the efforts to coalesce, in the written text, the adjoining vowels, according to rules of (Sanskrit) grammar, leaving a correct but unmetrical and unreadable line. The subterfuge is however so obvious that no one hesitates to dissolve the Sandhi automatically and restore the hiatus. Much reluctance is felt, on the other hand, by scholars

in admitting that the epic text likewise contained originally many instances of hiatus, though of course they are not as frequent as in the Veda. The reluctance is due to two causes. Firstly the Mbh. text looks on the surface so like a classical text that scholars, who have so far studied the text mainly from printed editions, insist on applying rules of classical grammar to the text. The second reason is that the ancient redactors who had not the same compunction about making small alterations in the epic text (as is evident from our critical apparatus) as they had in the case of the Vedic texts, have not resorted to coalescence in order to remove the hiatus, but have boldly added little expletives like *ca*, *tu*, *hi* for saving their precious rules of grammar, a procedure which, as it leaves the line metrically intact, makes the detection of their nefarious interference difficult, if not impossible. Now though the Mbh. looks on the surface like a classical text, there are many peculiarities of Sandhi and grammar—even in the printed editions and the Vulgate—which distinguish it from a classical text. Coalescence unknown to classical usage is seen in *amale "tmānam* (1. 68. 64), *te "jñayā* (1. 70. 41), *manyate "tmānam* (1. 198. 19). We have hiatus in a compound in *Nārāyaṇa-urogataḥ* (1. 16. 35); Pragṛhya Sandhi in *samupete 'dbhute 'naghe* (fem. du. 1. 14. 5), *jajñāte 'stravi-śāradau* (1. 57. 88) etc. Double crasis in *pannagābhavan* (1. 21. 6), *Vasumanābravīt* (1. 87, 18), *jāyateti* (1. 11. 13). Hiatus between pādas, caused by the change of *as* to *o* (1. 76. 35) : *jagāma svapuraṁ hṛṣṭo anujñāto mahātmanā*. Frequently we come across Prakritic Absolutives like *gṛhya* (1. 2. 93 ; 9. 19 ; 39. 23, 30 ; 119. 16 ; 123. 12, 16, 50 ; 124. 20 etc.), *toṣya* (1. 1. 109), *cintya* (1. 9. 2), *uṣya* (1. 71. 58), etc. etc.; and the converse (*tvā* for *ya*) in *sam-pūjayitvā* (1. 54. 15), *ā-nayitvā* (1. 66. 12), *ni-ṣṭanitvā* (1. 85. 18), *anu-śiṣṭvānugatvā ca* (1. 133. 24), *prāpayitvā* (1. 189. 25) etc., some of which may however, be explained as absolutives of verbs with *separable* prepositions. Such a separable preposition we have in 1. 65. 34 :

prati śravaṇapurvāṇi nakṣatrāṇi sasarja ha ।,

where *prati* is to be construed with *sasarja*, as *pratisasarja* : a line often misunderstood by editors, commentators and translators alike. These violations of (Sanskrit) grammar are not so rare that one has to hunt for them with a microscope. There is an endless list of

them. One meets with them at every step. If these and scores of other irregularities do occur as a matter of fact, why could there not be *hiatus* as well? Scholars are not yet familiar with this phenomenon, because they have been dealing, so far, with the clarified text, from which most of these irregularities have been carefully expunged, as is evident from our critical apparatus, by purists who have had the handling of the epic text during a long succession of centuries. I have noted that even Böhtlingk, who was otherwise a careful and conscientious editor, has in editing Mbh. passages for his *Chresthomathie*, rigidly enforced Sandhi rules, even in prose passages, with a zeal which was worthy of a better cause, where there was not the slightest manuscript authority for doing so. My study of the Mbh. MSS. during the last ten years has convinced me now that it is the grammatical and metrical irregularities of the original that are responsible for quite a large fraction of the mass of variations which we come across in the MSS. The correctness of my reconstructions can be proved only by adducing the entire evidence, which it is not possible to do here, but which may be undertaken later on, when a large part of the text has been dealt with in a like manner. I am fully persuaded that the Critical Edition, as it advances, will supply material for confirming most of my conclusions.— To return to the case under consideration. Winternitz points out that *hi* is found in all N MSS., including Śi, but he ignores that Ki shows here *tu*, not *hi*? Now Ki is a *clear* transcript of *a* Śāradā MS., and agrees with our Śi to such an extent that I have expressed it as my opinion that it is a copy of a Śāradā original very similar to *our* Śāradā MS. It is, no doubt, a very small and insignificant variation, but how would Winternitz explain it all the same? *hya* cannot be misread as *tva*, even in the Śāradā script. Why should just Ki show here *tva*? Is it not, perhaps, because a not very distant ancestor of our Śi and Ki *had* still the obnoxious hiatus, as in our text? The Kaśmīrī version does contain many original features and archaisms.

1. 215. 2: *ekāṁ tṛptiṁ prayacchatām.*

prayacchatām of the text, I may point out, is not entirely wrong; it may be construed with *bhavantau*, understood, a more

respectful form of address than the second person. In stanza 5, however, the reading *saṁprayacchatam* has been accepted, because the subject in the second person (*yuvām*) is expressed. We cannot argue that since in 5 we have *saṁprayacchatam*, therefore in 2 we *must* have also *prayacchatam*. Because in the Mbh., which is not and never was polished literature, we do come across such strange yoke-fellows. Changes of subject and changes of construction are frequent. That is the view I had taken when I adopted the text reading. But on second thoughts I decided that *prayacchatam* would nevertheless be a better reading, and the correction now proposed by Winternitz had been already published by me, in the " Addenda et Corrigenda, " at the end of the volume (p. 996).

1. 216. 10

sasarja yat svatapasā Bhauvano bhuvanaprabhuḥ ।
prajāpatir anirdeśyaṁ yasya rūpaṁ raver iva ॥

The matter is not simple as Winternitz imagines. Of course, with the reading *yaṁ*, any one can see that the relative may be construed with *ratham* in 8. We then get two sentences: " Which (scil. chariot of Arjuna) was fashioned by Bhauvana ... by (the power of) his austerities, " and " whose beauty was like that of the sun. " But the reading *yat* is actually found in ŚıK (except Ko) VıG (except G ı) ; i. e. in the Kaśmīrī version (except Ko), agreeing with the Grantha version (except G ı), plus the Maithilī MS. How is it that so many MSS. give what Winternitz considers, an " impossible " reading ? The reading is, in fact, not impossible at all ; only the construction is a little involved and difficult to understand. By reading *yat* we actually get better sense. Construe : *yasya, raver iva, yat anirdeśyaṁ rūpaṁ, (tat) Bhauvanaḥ ... svatapasā sasarja,* " whose indefinable (or incomparable) loveliness (or splendour), like that of the Sun, Bhauvan had fashioned by (the power of) his austerities. " This construction avoids the two disjointed and halting sentences *yaṁ anirdeśyaṁ Bhauvanaḥ ... svatapasā sasarja,* and *yasya rūpaṁ raver iva* (or *yaṁ Bhauvanaḥ ... svatapasā sasarja,* and *yasya anirdeśyaṁ rūpaṁ raver iva*), which result from the wrong reading *yaṁ* for

yat. *yat* is almost a perfect example of the *lectio difficilior*, and a regular trap for unwary editors.

1. 218. 14 : *jaladhārāmuco "kulān.*

Winternitz is here again mistaken in thinking that °*mucotulān* is the reading of S. It is the reading of only five of the thirteen Southern MSS. (T1 G1. 2 M3.5) ; three others (T3 G3.4) read °*muconilān*, three more (M6-8) read *mumocivān*, two (G5.6) read as in text (°*mucokulān*). The question is, in fact, what *was* the original reading of S. That question I have not been able to answer definitely, and I have, therefore, put in, *as a stopgap*, the reading of G5.6 which seemed to me not improbable, since initial *ā* is curiously enough, sporadically treated in the Mbh. text, like *a*. The reading °*samākulān* is useless; it is obviously a substitute for some reading which was difficult to understand or explain.

I have underlined *muco* in the text, but I now think that it is as good as certain. It is documented not only by the whole of S, but also by Ko.2.3 N V1D1. If *muco* be admitted, then *samākulān* of the Northern group becomes secondary, but with an important residue in the shape of the final *kulān*, agreeing with the final of °*mucokulān* of G5.6, rhyming with °*mucotulān* of Ko.3 T1 G1.3 M3.5, and finally reflected faintly in *muconilān* T3 G3.4. The documentary evidence, therefore, points unmistakably to a reading *jaladhārāmuco(x)lān*. Query, what is the value of *x*? The adjective *ākulān* (" confused ") qualifying *meghān* would be not inappropriate, referring to the condition of masses of clouds confusedly hurled about by a cyclonic wind ; not so appropriate, to my mind, the *atulān* (" incomparable ") preferred by Winternitz, and adopted by P. P. S. Sastri, against the evidence of his basic MS. अ, which has our text reading. In Sastri's adoption of *atulān* and his ignoring of variants, which must have appeared to him meaningless corruptions or clerical mistakes, we have an illuminating example of how the readings get indiscriminately distributed, disturbing the relationships established by the *stemma codicum*, and how the *lectio difficilior* is gradually effaced.

1. 218. 27 : *vyātiṣṭhanta mahaujasaḥ.*

The text reading *vyātiṣṭhanta*, it must be confessed, has not been adopted because it is the reading of ŚIKI ; it is a mere slip. I am thankful to Winternitz for drawing my attention to it. The reading *vyatiṣṭhanta* should be adopted without doubt.

* * *

I may repeat here what I have stated elsewhere that the problem of the Mahābhārata Textual Criticism is a problem *sui generis*. Here the principles of textual reconstruction, which must be first evolved from a study of the MS. material and the MS. tradition, can be considered as finally settled only after considerable discussion and exchange of ideas on the subject. I would, therefore, repeat my request to Prof. Winternitz, made some years ago, to continue his searching and exhaustive examination of the fascicules or volumes as they come out, and give us the benefit of his ripe experience and valuable opinions and findings. His publications on a subject which has engaged his attention, off and on, for the last forty years cannot but throw some much-needed light on the obscure question of the Mahābhārata Textual Criticism (which has unfortunately not received much attention so far from scholars), and thus advance the cause of Mahābhārata studies.

In conclusion, I must express my grateful thanks to Prof. Winternitz for the very kind and encouraging remarks he has made regarding the work in general as also my keen appreciation of the uniformly courteous tone of his sympathetic and appreciative review.

VERBAL SYNTHESIS—A MĪMĀMSĀ-GIFT

BY

PT. R. S. VENKATARAMA ŚĀSTRĪ, M. A.

The *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* System of the sage Jaimini, the largest of the Hindu philosophical works, containing over two thousand principles of interpretation, has given to the world of intellectualism *multa* as well as *multum*. Its stark realism and boldest pragmatism commend themselves to our admiration. '*Na kadācit anīdṛśam jagat*' is its pivot round which it revolves. Verbal Synthesis is one such realistic principle. '*Saṁbhavatyekavākyatve vākyabhedo na yujyate*' is their principle, which means when there is the possibility of verbal synthesis, sentence-split is improper. The whole scheme of Hindu Jurisprudence and the whole scheme of Hindu philosophic thought revolve round this. The chief claims of the *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsakas* for reputation as jurists and philosophers is based on this. Tradition styles the *Vaiyākaraṇas* as *Śabdavidaḥ*,' the *Naiyāyikas* as '*padavidaḥ*, *and* the *Mīmāṁsakas* as '*vākyavidaḥ*' or '*vākyatattvavidaḥ*', thereby suggesting that the Mīmāṁsakas alone possess a correct knowledge of the Philosophy of Sentence.

What exactly does the term 'sentence' mean? It is very difficult to offer a precise and satisfactory definition. Traditional Western Logic attempts a sort of definition and admits a trinity in the sentence: subject, copula and object. This definition is found wanting in many cases. Otto Jespersen, the prince among modern linguists, gives a sort of definition with which he himself is not satisfied; nor is he satisfied with the already existing definitions.

A modern savant of Mīmāṁsā, in interpreting Jaimini's definition of a sentence, has said, that "*a sentence is a self-contained unilocus articulation of connected concepts.*" This is unilocus in the sense that, any split or separation in the concept luridly betrays a syntactic hiatus. The leading concept according to the Mīmāṁsā Dialectics is '*Pravṛtti*,' the inner volitional element.

In this Judgment-process, sense-unity is kept up, as it does not involve any leading concept other than '*kṛti.*' The subordinate elements, having no independent existence, affect the unity of the sentence in no way.

One has to unlearn certain preconceptions for purposes of interpreting sentences. No stereotyped grammar can reign supreme in this domain. In the course of interpretation one has to loosen all the words and separate stems from inflexional endings. That is why Sanskrit dialecticians speak of the '*ghaṭa-pada*' and the '*ampada,*' thereby making every element significative. Among the separate significative elements there arises a syntactic need, demanding the coordination of these disjointed elements. If any element is kept loose, there would arise a discordant note in the lute of Syntactic Whole or Concord.

From this we are enabled to understand and appreciate the principle of Sentence-unity which is represented in Sanskrit by the term '*ekavākyatā.*' On this principle the disjointed elements of the universe could be coordinated together, a concatenated structure of the cosmos could be conjured up and thus an idea of the totality of the universe could be gained. In fine, all plurality could be sunk into the Absolute. Likewise in the sphere of Language, Nāda-Brahman could be established. The great moral, that the world is marching towards a complete and inevitable synthesis inspite of the apparent incongruities and differences, could be rightly drawn. On this the sublime monist and the the Dvaitin too seek to arrive at the conception of *Mahāvākya* or Central Text. Thus the conception of *ekavākyatā* is a glorious and priceless gem that has been bequeathed to the posterity by the great Jaimini.

Before indicating the limits to which 'ekavākyatā' is subjected, it would be worth our while to have some idea of the concept of a sentence. According to a very imaginative writer, expression, impression and suppression are the three vital elements in a sentence. The obvious object of a sentence is to convey expression, for language is a means of intercommunication of ideas. The sphere of thought is wider than the sphere of Language. For purposes of unification the world has hit upon two factors, namely, language and thought. The speaker seems to synthesise

and unify himself with the hearer. He wants to articulate and express his thought freely and frankly in a simple manner, to meet the hearer on a common ground. The first thing that expression does is to impose a suppression in language and thought. The speaker expresses and garbs his ideas with language, with the result that there is a residual element deserving suppression. Therefore suppression is invariably necessary to make '*a sentence*' in the real sense. In this connection, one is tempted to refer to a technique, namely, '*vākyārtha.*' Students of traditional Śāstraic culture would define '*vākyārtha*' as '*saṁsarga*' or '*padārtha-saṁsarga.*' A stem and an ending form separate words, as has already been indicated, and as such must have separate concepts. Some sort of arrangement or disposition of these concepts should be synthesised to get at a judgment. What is this element of synthesis? Apart from Īśvara or inner spirit, the immediate cause is '*saṁsarga-marṛādā*' or '*samabhivyāhāra*', which means juxtaposition or co-utterence. Groups, unless coordinated, could not exist. The concept of group is a 'fiction'; it may be a philosophical, psychological, metaphysical or any other fiction. For this co-utterance is quite indispensable. This element of *saṁsarga* it is that is being suppressed.

People possessing a minimum degree of responsiveness should be prepared to distinguish between poetic and prosaic expression. In poetic expression the element of suppression is the most dominant; hence the artistic richness. Therefore suppression infuses an element of expression, which in turn gives rise to an element of emotion. Inartistic legal prose should be as frank, matter-of-fact and business-like as possible. The soundness of legal propositions varies according to the varieties of the element of expression. The object kept in view is activity or abstention. This is the case with law secular or spiritual. Inspite of the prosaic nature of the Vedic laws, Abhinavagupta in the *Locana* states that the *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsakas* would accept '*vyañjanā*' or suggestion. What is it that gives life and charm to language but this element of suppression? Still, legal prose should be unambiguous and must have only one concept. It must be like *Karṇa's nāgāstra.*

The idea of *ekavākyatā* gives rise to its antithesis, *vākyabheda* or Sentence-split. Jaimini has started his *Mīmāṁsā Sūtras* with the discussion of a very important theological fiction, namely, the absolute infallibility of the Vedas which has been wielding an enormous influence over the whole scheme of Hindu thought ever since. He and his followers have denied themselves the pleasures of poetry. They have chosen the prosaic legal expression. In the sphere of flawless Vedic expression no suppression is possible. If more than one leading concept are read into it, '*vākya-bheda*' or verbal discord would arise. This *vākyabheda* is very much dreaded by Hindu intellectuals. Thus this is based on the fiction of Vedic infallibility and again there is another fiction implied in it, namely, that a Vedic injunction has only one leading concept. After this it would be easy to appreciate the significance of the view that the sovereign conception of the *Mahāvākyas* is the inevitable sequel of Jaimini's concept of *ekavākyatā*.

What is the *rationale* of this principle? The source of law is always considered to be impersonal in character. It may be divine source, human source, autocratic source, or myriad-minded source, any way it is impersonal. Thus the king-can-do-no-wrong-theory is accepted in orthodox Western politics. Similarly, the ancient Vedic Law is infallible, says the infallible Śaṁkara '*āmnātasya artham vaktum prabhavāmaḥ । na punaḥ āmnātam paryanuyoktum*: we can interpret the Veda; we cannot question it. Let us take a modern institution. A Legislative Council is a corporate body. It is a myriad-minded machinery responsible for the laws of the land. Individuals cannot explain laws after their own way. Therefore there must be common principles of interpretation. Laws are certainly well-motived. How far they are properly administered is a matter for serious consideration. We start with the assumption that flaws in the operation of laws are owing to not any real factor but to the way in which laws are interpreted. Therefore it is, that principles of interpretation are very necessarily resorted to. Modern jurists and lawyers do not hesitate to apply certain recognised, clear-cut principles of interpretation. We examine man-made laws and with the best of intentions come to certain conclusions. We allow ourselves the freedom of amending them and altering them to do

justice to the benevolent force behind them. To prevent this kind of amendment or alteration, God has been blown off and the theistic element completely eschewed by the earlier *Mīmāṁsakas.*

The uniquely piercing vision of the poets sees in certain cases strange incidents. A striking incident in the Trial Scene of Shakespere's Merchant of Venice merits our careful consideration in this connection. Shylock, the unrelenting Jew, is presented to the audience exclaiming that in the learned judge the soundest exponent of the laws of Venice would be present. When we see this scene with the perspective of a true *Mīmāṁsaka*, we cannot help finding the full force of '*vākyabheda*' the antithesis of '*eka-vākyatā.*' Portia in an impassionate appeal for justice and equity demands a just and correct interpretation of the bond. The penalty-clause introduced into the bond should not be given dominance in the judgment-process, because it is mostly of the nature of 'arthavāda.' The commendatory or condemnatory sentence cannot affect the sense-unity of the main statement. It is incapable of affecting the unity of expression. The Jew refuses to yield to this principle working unawares, and persists in interpreting the penalty clause also as an independent expression, with the result that the whole affair takes a very absurd turn. What is the principle that the great Dramatist vindicates unconciously here but Sentence-split and Verbal Synthesis? Would it be too much to say that no star shines more brilliantly than this in the firmament of Hindu Dialectics?

II.

After having understood the principle of Verbal Synthesis and its antethesis, Verbal hiatus, let us turn to them as associated with the purely Mīmāṁsā-technique. A great Mīmāṁsaka has classified *vākyabheda* into three categories *āvṛttilakṣaṇa vākyabheda, vibhāgalakṣaṇa vākyabheda* and *vairūpyalakṣaṇa vākyabheda.* The well-known text '*Somena yajeta*' serves as an example for the *āvṛttilakṣaṇa.* It cannot be maintained here that Karman and dravya are coordinately enjoined; for, in that case, the sentence has to be split up. *Karman* and *guṇa* as such are separate entities. *Guṇaviśiṣṭa-karman* or *karman* as associated with *guṇa* is a separate composite entity. The apparent structure of the sentence makes one think that two factors are enjoined which would be against the ideal of

ekavākyatā. To avoid this difficulty the text is to be construed by our having recourse to *lakṣaṇā* or secondary significative power. The result is '*somavatā-yāgena*', a secondary significative power in the possessive suffix. A complex concept is got at and the difficulty is got over.

Vibhāga-lakṣaṇa consists in tearing away a portion of the sentence and bringing it in relation with some other element in the context. The text '*aruṇayā piṅgākṣyā ekahāyanyā somam krīṇāti*' serves as an illustration for this. The chapter in Jaimini's work in which this point is discussed is known as *aruṇādhikaraṇa.* In this text the word '*aruṇayā*' offers certain difficulties in the judgment-process. It refers to red colour. This is to be connected with the leading concept, namely *ākhyāta,* which is a mere inner volition, which, in the particular instance, is *Krayaṇa-bhāvanā.* The other two words *piṅgākṣyā* and *ekahāyanyā* could easily be connected with the leading concept. '*Aruṇa*' as has already been indicated, as a *guṇa* or quality-word. It is suggested, therefore, that the quality-word may be torn away from the sentence and stretched to anything in the context which may be red. *Nāsti vacanasya atibhāraḥ kimiva hi vacanam na kuryāt.* Here the sentence-unity is interfered with. The tearing of the epithet '*aruṇayā*' away from the text is technically known as *vibhāga-lakṣaṇo vākyabhedaḥ.*

The third type is known as *vairūpya lakṣaṇa.* Vairūpya is incompatibility. The text '*Vājapeyena svārājya-kāmo yajeta*' serves as an example for this. Apparently it is suggested that this text refers to surā, a special *dravya* as being specially enjoined. In this case, the text is to be construed as: *Surayā yāgam bhāvayet; yāgena svārājyam bhāvayet;*—a veritable sentence-split. Here an element of incompatibility is also felt. The same *yāga* cannot be both end and means. *Sādhyatva* and *sādhanatva* cannot coexist. Thus there is the *Vairūpya-lakṣaṇo vākyabhedaḥ.* So far with regard to Sentence-split.

Now to take up *ekavākyatā* in brief. This is recognised to be of two kinds, namely, *padaikavākyatā* and *vākyaikavākyatā.* The difference between a pada—a word—and a vākya—a Sentence—is too well-known to need any special elucidation now. The word gives rise to *padārthoupasthiti* or *padārtha-smṛti,* while the sentence gives rise

to a complete judgment. In the *padaikavākyatā* there is no judgment within the judgment, while in the *vākyaikavākyatā*, there is. For purposes of illustration let us take the '*arthavādas*' which are mere condemnatory or commendatory texts and as such have no independence in judgment-process. In cases like '*ādityo yūpaḥ*' and '*yajamānaḥ prastaraḥ*' *yūpa* and *prastara* could be taken as factors enjoined; *āditya* and *yajamāna* are intended to convey the idea of excellence through secondary significative power. Here *lakṣaṇā* is resorted to only in the case of a pada and thus there is a judgment within the principal judgment of the *vidhi*. In cases like '*vāyurvai kṣepiṣṭhā devatā*' etc., *lakṣaṇā* is resorted to in regard to the whole group. The group as such does not at all convey any judgment; it is taken in the sense of the '*pada*'-a word-'*prāśastya.*' Therefore we can formulate the two kinds of *eka-vākyatā* as follows: *when lakṣaṇā is resorted to in regard to a single word there is vākyaikavākyatā. Where lakṣaṇā is resorted to in regard to a sentence there is padaikavākyatā.*

Yeṣām avāntara-vākyārtha-bodha-janakatvam, tatra vākyaikavākyatā | *yeṣām ca avāntaravākyārtha-bodha-ajanakatvam tatra padaikavākyatā.*

PRACTICE AND THEORY OF MUSIC

By

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Lakṣya. Skill in singing is quite attainable by developing oneself what knowledge is gained by mere hearing. Instances of such fine singers are not rare. Persons who can entertain themselves as well as scholars and laymen by sweet and appealing music are indeed numerous in the towns and villages of South India. It is precisely this knowledge which is known as Lakṣya jñāna.

Lakṣaṇa. All those, again, who are acquainted with music, are also acquainted with the famous pair—Lakṣya and Lakṣaṇa jñāna. As is likely to be supposed, Lakṣaṇa jñāna is not the antonym of Lakṣya jñāna. On the other hand, it only supplements the attainments of a Lakṣya-jñānin. The Lakṣaṇa or supplementary lessons arm him with the analytical understanding of the subject. They chasten his knowledge, round off its angularities, expose the vastness of the subject, create further scope for him, explain the why and wherefore of the higher and lower planes of music. The deeper and surer his grasp of the Lakṣya and Lakṣaṇa aspects of music, the more does he delight others and is delighted by it. Now, he is doubtless in duty bound to do his bit in the field. And when he proceeds to systematically teach music, it is Lakṣaṇa jñāna that offers him its helping hand.

Their demarcation. We may briefly put down the definition or demarcation of Lakṣya and Lakṣaṇa. Lakṣya is the aggregate of the singing of some compositions, identification and attempt of popular rāgas, and ordinary knowledge to keep time. Lakṣaṇa is the rationale of the above in terms of current technicalities.

The precedence of Lakṣya. It is universally accepted in every field of knowledge that theory (Lakṣaṇa) must only follow practice (Lakṣya). Saṁgīta-ratnākara and other basic works also declare " Lakṣyapradhānam khalu saṁgītam na tu lakṣaṇa-pradhānam "—that in music Lakṣya is important and not

Lakṣaṇa. Thiagayyar and other paragons of teachers, too, are known to have strictly adhered to this dictum in teaching their disciples. The Vedic adhyayana, the Thevaram music and that of the varied Bhajanas—which constitute our precious and hoary lore—have all been handed down to us surely by the Lakṣya method.

Their root-meaning. Why the Lakṣya has gained precedence over the Lakṣaṇa can be distinctly grasped as we turn to the root-meaning of these terms. While Lakṣya denotes the object itself, Lakṣaṇa refers to its characteristic features alone. For instance, he who has seen Mahāviṣṇu proclaims his "Śrīvatsāṅkitalakṣaṇa"—that He has the Śrīvatsa as his indicatory mark. Whereas Mahāviṣṇu is the lakṣya, the Śrīvatsa is just his lakṣaṇa. Thus the Lakṣya represents the organic whole, while Lakṣaṇa only its part. From these it will be easy to concede that in music, Lakṣya must not be built up from Lakṣaṇa. Laksaṇa is the mere elucidation by the singer himself of what is observed in Lakṣya; and lastly, a Lakṣya-jñānin alone can discern and understand the subtleties of Lakṣaṇa.

Music teaching of today. It is time to consider the character of the present method of teaching music, with reference to its dual aspects. The usual course of instructions with all teachers is found to be stereotyped, comprising Saralivarisai, Alaṁkāra, Gīta, Svarajāti, Varṇa and certain Kīrtanas and making an end there. The same method is followed in the case of vocal and instrumental music, whether the student is a Lakṣyajñānin or not, young or old, male or female. This even obtains in schools and colleges at present. The question naturally suggests whether this course of instruction comes under the Lakṣya or the Lakṣaṇa. In-as-much as the Sārigamas or alphabets of music largely occur in these lessons, they may be said to belong to the Lakṣaṇa. If so, whither the Lakṣya lessons? Since even a raw beginner, who has had no Lakṣya equipment, is also taught the same set of lessons, will it not be good if the Lakṣya portion thereof could be singled out? To him, on the other hand, this course might only mean immense harm. For, is he not totally denied the benefit of Lakṣya instruction,—which alone can present the subject in its entirety,—abounding, as it does, with Rāga subtle-

ties like curves, touches, Anusvāras and Gamakas? As a matter of fact, it only initiates wrong and indelible furrows in his knowledge, which in a way preclude his chances of assimilating the niceties of Rāgālapana even at a later stage. Let us turn a while to the case of the other type of student, who is possessed of Lakṣya knowledge. Truth to tell, this course thoroughly ignores whatever previous Lakṣya understanding he has got and, needless to say, fails to foster it.

Nor are they to be classed as typical Lakṣaṇa lessons for either type of students. Indeed in them we miss definitions of Svara, Śruti, Gīta, Svarajāti, Varṇa and the other technical terms. More, every bit of these lessons, even as it is sung by teachers, is merely got by rote by students parrot-like. Nowhere in the course is any portion explained and taught. Granting that these lessons are as laconic and pregnant with priceless principles at the " Sūtras " of Sanskrit literature, what purpose will be served by memorising them unless their significance and application are set forth? The student, no wonder, exhibits neither the ability to sing harmoniously to the śruti; command over rāgas other than the popular; acquaintance with the characteristic difference of allied rāgas; capacity to compare our system with other systems; nor a sound knowledge of the higher planes of music. He is simply left to shift for himself for further progress, without, obviously, any instruction vouchsafed to him as regards methodical and scientific singing of Rāga or Pallavi. Here lies the cause why he is, as often as not, obsessed by a strong sense of diffidence and scrupulously seeks to avoid the limelight. Of course, by some strokes of fortune, certain of the students, gifted with a felicitous voice and pursuing the study of music with indomitable perseverance, do happen to meet with encouragement and patronage, and so design to come to prominence as musicians.

Has the traditional course no merit, then? An honest enquiry into this topic, however, only goes to confirm that the originator of this traditional course ought to have been well-nigh superhuman. The very selection of the Mayamalava-gowla scale and subsequent graded lessons eminently prove how easily and surely the student is taken towards the goal. The scale of the Mayamalava-

gowla has many distinct advantages as contrasted with that of others. In the first instance, a unique feature of this initial scale is that it possesses the perfect tones and their nearest quarter tones. In fact, one of the varities of Carnatic music is that wherever the adjacent notes occur, there the gracefulness of its rāgas is set off. Secondly, it helps best the attainment of Svarajñāna. Thirdly, even its mere svara combinations bring out the rāga form. Lastly, this is the only scale which could facilitate the Ākāra practice.

Let us indicate the immense thought, care and utility of the gradation of lessons throughout the course. The Svarāvali, the Varisai and the Alaṁkāra enable the student to spell single notes and simple combinations of notes at random. The purpose of the Gīta is to introduce him to other scales and to the Ākāra. The Ākāras, by the way, are to the Svaras, what the tissues are to the bones of live beings. Svarajāti lessons aim at equipping him with command of Svara combinations of rāgas and the ramifications of Thalam. By means of the Tāna lessons he gains a thorough knowledge of the grouping and elaboration of both Svaras and Ākāras, in keeping with Tāla. From the Varṇa lessons he acquires the ability to reduce to Svara notation and *vice versa* inarticulate and articulate phrases and melodies of music. Models of Pallavi singing are also furnished therein. Kīrtanas finally initiate and acquaint him with Anusvāras, Gamakams and rāga graces. So, the scheme underlying the traditional arrangement of the lessons is indeed thoroughly meaningful, reliable and systematic. In a word, even as the expert mason erects beautiful edifices on sites with varied materials, this course synthetically raises on the different scales the superstructure of rāgas, by dint of Svara combinations, Ākāras, curves, touches, Anusvāras and Gamakas.

The course, misused: By reference to certain striking points, it may now be proved how such a useful course has been miscarried.

(1) This course is intended primarily for instrumental practice and not for vocal singing.

(2) These lessons,—resembling, as they do, the grammatical

ones—ought to be explained and taught; but students only mug them up.

(3) Vocal students ought merely to practise them on the instrument, that they might hear them for Lakṣaṇam grasp. But they do sing them and receive unwholesome impressions.

(4) They must try the lessons themselves; instead, are directed to memorise.

(5) The originator of the system looks upon the manner as its life; but its matter is being made much of:—

(a) The Sarali and other exercises have been designed as models for many rāgas; but are being applied only in one.

(b) Every lesson, even the Varṇa at times, has come to be practised in the three Kālas. Wonderful! The originator meant just to indicate the occurrence of Hrasva, Dīrgha and Pluta.

(c) The course should be marked out in different portions, as those contributing to Svara-jñāna, Śruti-jñāna, and so forth.

(d) The underlying principles of Gīta, Svarajāti and Varṇa must be so taught that they might be applied to other rāgas as well.

(e) The Gīta must be understood as imparting knowledge of the rāga scale and the Ākāra.

(f) Svarajāti, which is intended to exemplify Tāla variation, has assumed a different role!

(g) Varṇa must needs be regarded as teaching notation, the important topic of Lakṣaṇa; and not as the epitome of rāga Bhāvas and Saṁcāras.

Elucidation. The above points may now be briefly elucidated. At the outset it has been stated that this course is intended primarily for instrumental practice—which will be borne out as we examine the extant method of vocal instruction. Usually, every one of the lessons is first sung by the instructor and the student is advised to repeat it as many times as he possibly can, and, lo, for some years! Again, he is asked to repeat the very first lesson of Sārigams (or alphabets), mind you, in four Kālas, (or kinds of speed), before the second lesson is at all taken up! In this way he is directed to mug up lesson by lesson through the

course, instead of being guided to attempt them himself. The cardinal principle, as we know, of training a student in any language is to lead him to spell and progress himself from stage to stage, after the alphabets are taught. Could he, on the other hand, repeat the lessons correctly and in speed, so soon as the alphabets are grasped—and to what purpose? Moreover, when the student has already got a lesson by heart, and has, obviously, no necessity or chance of using his intellect in attempting it again, what end is served in making him repeat it daily and so many times? Further, music stands to improve towards more gracefulness the more the student repeats; and this can hold good only with Laksya and certainly not with Lakṣaṇa.

An analogy. We shall now indicate the place in Lakṣaṇa lessons themselves, of repetition in varied rates of speed. Here, the analogy of speaking and writing eminently applies to vocal and instrumental music respectively. Speaking and writing, as is known, have separate laws governing them. It is but natural that in the initial stages the boy writes slow and big and gets the characters smaller and quicker by and by. Much so, his handwriting, too, is not good at first and only improves with more writing, guidance notwithstanding. There is no necessity to change the lessons in order to better the handwriting; the same might be written over and over again, with no less benefit. Even so is the case with instrumental practice.

The domain of speaking and its laws are analogous to vocal music, as aforesaid, but precisely contrary to the principles that govern the art of writing. For, the boy certainly pronounces a sentence as quickly as the elder—in fact, in sweeter and more impressive fashion. This is quite true of vocal music as well. Any boy-singer can repeat a musical passage as quickly as a veteran, perhaps, with greater charm and warmth. And, as a matter of fact, as the boy advances in age, his voice is also found to lose its wonted grace and appeal. On the other side, instrumental practice, just like handwriting, is but bound to improve with time.

Instrumental study, as noted, is recommended for every vocal student for his Lakṣaṇa grasp. On the instrument, of course, he has to practice the lessons daily as many times as he can, in

order to acquire speed and mechanical facility of playing. To that extent, no doubt, his ear, meanwhile, gets trained. Again, the instrumental practice of Trikālas incidentally introduces him to the details of Tāla variation.

Purpose of Gīta, Svarajāti and Tāna. So far with reference to Sarali and othar preliminary exercises. We may now proceed to show how the Gīta, Svarajāti and Tāna lessons are also devised more for the instrument. As regards the Gīta, its two types are well-known, the ordinary and the Lakṣaṇa. The former concerns easy and simple songs. As it is taught, its Sāhitya and Svaras are also imparted. In Lakṣaṇa Gīta, however, its Sāhitya itself explains the Ārohaṇa, Avarohaṇa and major lakṣaṇas of the rāga in which it is composed. In both these kinds of Gīta, Ākara also is introduced somewhere. The purpose of the Gīta may thus be clear—namely, the elucidation of the ascending and descending scales of rāgas, and the Ākāra. Svarajātis, not many, are taught, however, with Sāhitya and Ākāra—which, therefore, do not fit in with the significance of the title. On the other hand, many typical Svarajātis have been composed by the Mahārāja of Travancore—who was a distinguished contemporary of Thiagayyar—which are without Sāhitya and Ākāra, but only with Svara combinations and Jāti variations of Tāla. Svarajātis of Hindustani music, also, significantly enough, have neither Sāhitya nor Ākāra in them. Tāna stands for multiple elaborations (Tanu Vistāre) of Svara combination of rāgas with Ākāra. The studend must himself try exhaustive Tāna exercises in all rāgas by taking combinations of two, three, four Svaras and so forth, with Ākāra admixed. An investigation into the Gīta, Svarajāti and Tāna must clearly show how indispensable they are for the instrumental study. If an instrumental student is to play a particular tune or song, his primary requisite will be acquaintance with the scale of the rāga in question, its several svara combinations and their Ākāra elaborations as well—which, needless to say, is furnished respectively, by the Gīta, Svarajāti and Tāna exercises. Hence, the vocal student stands to advance in his Lakṣya knowledge whenever he sings; and, alongside, in Lakṣaṇa whenever he devotes himself to the instrument.

Purpose of Varṇa and Kīrtana. Varṇas are widely supposed to contain Rāga-Saṁcāras in them, which, however, they

hardly do; even a few of the characteristic combinations of the rāgālapana are conspicuous by their absence in its Varṇa. The Varṇa lessons also can be better utilised. They must be regarded as exercises and the vocal student must be directed to attempt and sing the Varṇa from the script, with the aid of the knowledge he has already gained from the foregoing lessons. This method, certainly, will bring out its purpose, namely, ability to sing to notation—which is simply attested by the long-drawn Ākāras that characterise it. It is a point yet to be realised that the Varṇa is intended to help the reading of a passage from notation and *vice versa*—wherefore, long-drawn Ākāras, mutilations of words and models of Pallavi are included therein. Those Gītas, Svarajātis and Varṇas, therefore, which are latterly composed, must be scrutinised to see if they subserve their respective purpose, as pointed out above; so that such of them as do not might be given a convenient go-by.

Last but not least, present day Kīrtana lessons lack proper arrangement. The student, further, neec be taught such choice Kīrtanas alone as mirror the typical Bhāvas, each of its rāga.

Conclusion. Thus, even after having undergone the present course for many years, the student only finds himself wanting in the abundance of quantitative and qualitative musical stock, which was supplied by the Lakṣya method of Thiagayyar and others. Nor is he at all satisfied with his Lakṣaṇa progress. For, even the rationale of such popular rāgas as Yadukulakāmboji, Huseni, Atana and Ānandabhairavi, is not known. So, it is up to the musical reformer to approach the past in an eclectic spirit and strike the golden mean by so remodelling the course that the Lakṣya is accorded a prominent and compulsory character, while the Lakṣaṇa is made to conform to it and succeed it as the optional course.

To conclude, the matter of the time-honoured system of instruction is, indeed, unimpeachable; and it is only the popular manner of adoption thereof—which threatens to stay—that is found to bristle with such serious foibles

This partial investigation of the above aspects of music, though awe-inspiring and somewhat difficult of acceptance to the musical public, has been published, may I think, no day too soon; since major institutions of music and research have come to be established and run under the auspices of the Universities of South India.

MISCELLANEA

LITERARY NOTES (continued)*

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, B. A. (Hons.)

V.

The Alaṁkāra Candrikā of King Nārāyaṇa

S. K. De says on p. 301 of Vol. I. of his Skr. Poetics:

"Nārāyaṇadeva: Alaṁkāra Candrikā.

This work is referred to by the author himself in his Saṁgītanārāyaṇa. The author, also called Gajapati Vīranārāyaṇadeva, was the son of Padmanābha and the disciple of Puruṣottamamiśra."

Dr. De thus considers this Alaṁkāra Candrikā of Nārāyaṇadeva referred to by himself in his work on music, the Saṁgītanārāyaṇa, as a treatise on poetics. This is wrong. A Ms. of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa's Saṁgītanārāyaṇa is available in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library and on reading it I find that the Alaṁkāra Candrikā quoted therein as the author's other work is not a work on poetics but is a special music treatise dealing with the subject of Alaṁkāras in music.

"तत्र च

षड्विंशतिः स्थायिनः स्युः रोहिणो द्वादशैव तु ।
संचारिणो द्वादशैव द्वादशैवावरोहिणः ॥
इति प्रसिद्धालंकाराः पञ्चाशत् परिकीर्तिताः ।
ग्रन्थविस्तरताभीतेः मया नेह प्रपञ्चिताः ॥

मत्कृत-अलंकारचन्द्रिकायां सर्वे प्रपञ्चिताः ।

अलंकारप्रयोजनमाह—

स्वरज्ञाने(नं) हृताभ्यासो(?) रक्तिलाभश्च जायते ।
वर्णगानविचित्रत्वं चालंकारप्रयोजनम् ॥"

p. 15, Saṁgītanārāyaṇa, Ms. of the Mad. Govt. Ori. Mss. Library. R. 3234.

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* Continued from Annals of B. O. R. I. Vol. XIV pp. 250-263.

The above extract wherein is the said Alaṁkāra Candrikā quoted will make plain what Alaṁkāra is meant and how the Alaṁkāra Candrikā of Gajapati Vīranārāyaṇadeva is not a work on Rhetoric but is a work on the fifty musical Alaṁkāras.

Date of King Gajapati Nārāyaṇa

A few verses at the beginning of the Saṁgītanārāyaṇa and the colophons to its chapters give some information about Nārāyaṇa. He is a Gajapati, i. e., a King of Orissa and is said to belong to the Gaṅga Vaṁśa. He is the son of Padmanābha. He is a prince or Zamindar of Parlakhimidi in Orissa. In the colophons in the Kavicintāmaṇi, a Rheterico-musical treatise by one Gopīnātha Kavibhūṣaṇa, a protege of another Nārāyaṇadeva of the same family, we find these kings described as 'lords of Khimuṇḍi'- श्रीखिमुण्डिमहाराज्येश्वर. Many are the Khimuṇḍi chiefs who had the name Nārāyaṇa and it is not easy to fix the Nārāyaṇa who wrote the Saṁgītanārāyaṇa and the Alaṁkāra Candrikā. He may be the Vīrapratāparudra Nārāyaṇadeva who ruled, according to R. Sewell between A. D. 1748 and 1766. (Vide p. 186. part ii. Arch. Survey of South India) According to Banerjee's History of Orissa (Vol. ii. p. 120) a Nārāyaṇa of Parlākhimidi attacked King Vīrakiśora of the house of Khurda who ruled up to 1779 A. D. These two Nārāyaṇas may be identical

The real author of the Saṁgīta Nārāyaṇa and the Alaṁkāra Candrikā.

Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva is the disciple of his great court poet, Kaviratna Puruṣottama Miśra. In the Prabandhādhyāya i. e., the chapter dealing with musical compositions, the Saṁgītanārāyaṇa quotes many musical compositions of Puruṣottama Miśra, mentioning him as the author's guru. It is not unusual that treatises attributed to kings are really works written by their court-poets. As a matter of fact, in the Notices of Skr. Mss. of Bengal by Haraprasad Sastry, Vol. XI, pp. 64 and 123 the Saṁgīta nārāyaṇa is mentioned as the work of Nārāyaṇa's guru, Puruṣottama Kaviratna also. It is therefore likely that the Alaṁkāra Candrikā also is a work of Puruṣottama.

Writers quoted in the Saṁgīta-Nārāyaṇa; Mammaṭa, the author of the Kāvyaprakāśa as the author of a music treatise.

Many are the music works quoted in the Saṁgītanārāyaṇa. In other branches of knowledge, the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the Kāvyaprakāśa, Chandoratnākara and Parāśarasaṁhitā on archery are quoted. Two works to be noted are a poem called Gopagovinda, perhaps an imitation of Gītagovinda, the commentator on which musical poem is quoted and a commentary on the Gītagovinda by one Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa.

But [1] the most noteworthy of all works quoted is a music work called Saṁgītaratnāvalī attributed to Mammaṭa whom we knew up till now only as an Ālaṁkārika.

i. मम्मटाचार्यकृतसंगीतरत्नावल्याम्

कन्नाटनाटमल्लार etc.

p. 20. S. N. Mad. Ms.

The quotation is long and consists of a list of Rāgas.

ii. टक्कलक्षणमाह मम्मटः 'नाटकर्णाटयोर्यांगे टक्करागो नपुंसकः ।' p. 35.

VI.

The Camatkāra Candrikā of Viśveśvara

In a footnote to the section on Śiṅgabhūpāla, the author of the Rasārṇavasudhākara, Dr. S. K. De says on p. 243 of Vol. I. of his Skr. Poetics:

"A *poem* in eight *cantos* called Camatkāra Candrikā *or* Siṁhabhūpāla-kīrti-sudhā-sāra-śītala was written, with a view to illustrate the principles of rhetoric, by Viśveśvara Kavicandra, panegyrising our prince who is called here as Sarvajña. (IOC VII p. 1507)"

The information given by Dr. De is based on the description of a Ms. of the work in the India Office Catalogue as he himself has indicated. The I. O. C. says on p. 1507 (No. 3966):

"Camatkāracandrikā (Siṁhabhūpālakīrtisudhāsāraśītala) a panegyrical *poem* celebrating (Sarvajña-) Siṁhabhūpāla, a petty ruler of the Zemindari of Pithapur, in the Rājamahendri district

[1] Vide my papers on Early and Later Saṁgīta Literature published in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy. Puruṣottama's son, Poet Nārāyaṇa wrote a music work called Saṁgīta sarani (Ms. available in the Madras Govt. Mss. Library) which also quotes the Alaṁkāra Candrikā and Mammaṭa's music treatise, Saṁgītaratnāvalī.

(Wilson)- composed, with a view to illustrating the principles of rhetoric, by Viśveśvara Kavicandra. Eight *cantos.*"

The Camatkāracandrikā of Viśveśvara Kavicandra, protege of Simhabhūpāla, is not a *poem* in eight *cantos* written to illustrate the principles of rhetoric, like the Bhaṭṭikāvya written to illustrate the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra. The Camatkāra Candrikā is not a Lakṣyagrantha or even a Lakṣyagrantha and a Lakṣaṇagrantha rolled into one. It is a pure Lakṣaṇagrantha. It is not a poem but a perfect rhetorical treatise, a work that must have been described by the I. O. C. not under poetic compositions as we find it there but under Rhetoric and Poetics. It is a work in eight Vilāsas, chapters and not eight Sargas or cantos. The I. O. C. gives the introductory verses, the names of each chapter indicating the contents thereof and also the colophon. These not only contain suggestions but express mention of the nature of the work. Thus verse 3 calls it a 'लक्षणग्रन्थ.'

कृतिरभिमतकृतिचतुरा यदि चतुरोदात्तनयगुणोदारा।
इति लक्षणकृतिरत्नं रचये शिङ्गभूपतिगुणोदाहरणम् ॥

Then are given two verses which give the seven elements of Camatkāra or aesthetic delight in a poem. The names of the various chapters also point to the fact of the work being an Alaṁkāra treatise. The colophon calls the chapter division Vilāsa and a Kāvya's or a Poem's divisions are called only Sargas.

Dr. De says that the *poem* is also called सिंहभूपालकीर्तिसुधासारशीतल. He means so by the use of the word "or" and the I. O. C. also means so by putting this in brackets by the side of the name Camatkāracandrikā. One is reminded of certain instances in Aufrect's Cat. Cat. where an Advaitic work is entered as the work of Parivrājakācārya. Adjectives are mistaken for proper names. The Camatkāracandrikā is a Rhetorical treatise, the illustrative verses in which are in praise of the author's patron, Simhabhūpāla, the work thus resembling the well-known Ekāvalī, Pratāparudrīya, Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa etc. It is because the poet feels that he has increased the charm of his work by making eulogies of Śiṅgabhūpāla as illustrations that he has considered his Camatkāracandrikā as having been made cool by the fame of Śiṅga sung therein. This is plain from the colophon which runs thus:

इति सरससाहित्यचातुरीधुरीणश्रीविश्वेश्वरकविचन्द्रप्रणीतायां श्रीसिंहभूपालकीर्तिसुधासारशीतलायां चमत्कारचान्द्रिकायां वर्णपदविवेको नाम प्रथमो विलासः।

One of the colophons (chap. V) calls the work explicitly an Alaṁkāra work. "——चमत्कारचन्द्रिकायां अलंकृतौ——."

A Ms. of the work, lacking the begining, is available in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library. (R. 2679. Trien. Cat. 1916-19 to 1918-19). The following are the contents of the work :

Chapter I. Varṇa, Pada and Padadoṣas.
„ II. Vākya and Vākyadoṣas. (I. O. C. does not give the name of this chapter.)
„ III. Artha, Artha doṣas ; varieties of compositions.
„ IV. Guṇas ; Rīti, Vṛtti, Pāka and Śayyā.
„ V. Rasa. (I. O. C. gives the name of this chapter as 'अलंकृतौ रसविवेकः'. It has been pointed out above that 'Alaṁkṛtau' qualifies च. चन्द्रिकायां. Only 'रसविवेकः' forms the name of this chapter).
„ VI. Śabda-Alaṁkāras.
„ VII. Artha- „
„ VIII. Ubhaya- „ (I. O. C. does not give the name of this chapter).

An estimate of the work.

The Camatkāracandrikā is noteworthy as one of the few works which follow Bhoja. All the Doṣas and Guṇas of Bhoja found in his Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa are accepted by the C. C. In the cases of certain Doṣas, Viśveśvara gives new names and simplifies in certain cases by bringing two or three Doṣas under one head.[1] Among Guṇas, he omits Bhoja's Praudhi which is Pāka and which Viśveśvara deals separately along with Śayyā, Rīti etc. Regarding Alaṁkāra also the C. C. follows Bhoja by accepting his

[1] Among Padadoṣas, the C. C. adds Adṛṣṭārtha (Śabdagaurava) and splits Bhoja's Grāmya into as many Doṣas as Bhoja himself has spoken of under Grāmya. Among Vākyadoṣas, Bhoja's Bhagnacchandas, Yatibhraṣṭa and Aśarīra are brought under one flaw called 'Vikala', Chandovikala, Yativikala and Kriyāvikala; Bhoja's Apada is omitted and instead of the several flaws of Bhoja under Arītimat, the C. C. has only the Viparyaya of Audārya guṇa which Bhoja calls Analaṁkāra and the C. C. 'Kevala,' ordinary, acamatkāri. Among Vākyārtha doṣas, Bhoja's Niralaṁkāra is called by C. C. 'Anujjvala',

threefold classification into those of Śabda, of Artha and of both, bringing most of the generally known Arthālaṁkāras under the last head- Ubhayālaṁkāra. Of the twentyfour Śabdālaṁkāras of Bhoja, Viśveśvara separates Rīti and Vṛtti which he treats in another separate section along with Pāka and Śayyā, these four being considered as of more general import. He omits such strange Śabdālaṁkāras of Bhoja like Jāti (language, Sanskrit and Prakrit), Gati (verse and prose forms), Śravya, Preksya, Abhineya etc. But Viśveśvara accepts Bhoja's new Śabdālaṁkāras-छाया, मुद्रा, युक्तिः and गुम्फना though he reduces the number of their subdivisions. He accepts twenty of Bhoja's twentyfour Arthālaṁkāras, omitting the four Pramāṇālaṁkāras-प्रत्यक्षं, उपमानं, शब्दः and अभावः।

All the twentyfour Ubhayālaṁkāras of Bhoja are accepted and are treated in the last chapter at the end of which Bhoja's name is mentioned as the authority.

While desrcibing varities of composition, Viśveśvara speaks of (p. 49) a variety of Campū called Upacampū under which he brings the musical court panegyrics like Udāharaṇa, Cakravāla, Birudāvali etc.

On Rasa, Viśveśara does not follow Bhoja. He accepts like his patron, only eight Rasas, dismissing even Śānta. He appears to be the earliest writer to use the Upaniṣadic text रसो वै सः in connection with the Rasa of Kāvya, which is familiar to us from Jagannātha's Rasagaṅgādhara. Viśveśvara says :—

स वै रस इति श्रुत्या ब्रह्मणः सममक्ष्या (?)।
प्रोक्तो रसः स्वयंभाग्यात् कैश्चिदेवानुसूयते ॥

Having given this Vedic authority, he gives Puranic authority! He says Rasa is Śiva and therefore is of eight forms-अष्टमूर्तिः।

शिवो रस इति प्रोक्तः सत्यं ? भावकसत्तमैः।
न चेल्लोकोपकाराय कथमस्याष्टमूर्तित्व ॥

p. 69. Mad. Ms.

Though Viśveśvara does not follow Bhoja on Rasa, here and there, he takes a stray bit of thought out of the fifth chapter of Bhoja's S. K. A. Thus he uses Bhoja's phrase रसान्वयः; The C. C. says तदन्वयेन काव्यश्रीः कमनीयत्वमश्नुते and this is after Bhoja, S. K. A. V. 1.

योऽर्थस्तस्यान्वयात् काव्यं कमनीयत्वमश्नुते ।

Again, Bhoja it is who equates Poetry with Ukti, classifies it into three viz., Svabhāva-ukti, Vakra-ukti and Rasa-ukti, refering respectively to Guṇa, Alaṁkāra and Rasa and says that the last, the Rasokti, is most appealing. [1]

वक्रोक्तिश्च रसोक्तिश्च स्वभावोक्तिश्च वाङ्मयम् ।
सर्वासु ग्राहिणीं तासु रसोक्तिं प्रतिजानते ॥

S. K. Ā. V. 8.

Following this Viśveśvara says:

चिरं जीवतु वक्रोक्तिः स्वभावोक्तिश्च तिष्ठताम् ।
रसोक्ति(क्ते)रेव काव्यानि ग्राह्याणीति मतिर्मम ॥

pp. 69-70. Mad. Ms.

All conditions of Rasa expressed in poetry are analysed by Bhoja and put as twentyfour items called रसान्वयविभूतयः—conditions fostering the presence of Rasa. In this list are to be seen the various forms of Rasokti and Rasa-avasthās corresponding to them as also such subjects as hero, heroine, love-festivals etc. (vide Śls 9-12. S. K. Ā. V). Omitting the latter, Viśveśvara takes the various stages of the development of Rasa only and gives them as constituting the tenfold Rasokti, viz., mere appearance, mere development, continuity, manifestation, full nourishment, mixture, decrease, semblance, disappearance and residue.

सत्तास्फुरत्तानुबन्धाः निष्पत्तिः पुष्टिसंकरौ ।
ह्रासाभासौ शमः शेषः इत्युक्ता हि रसोक्तयः ॥

Cf. S. K. Ā. V.

भावो जन्मानुबन्धोऽथ निष्पत्तिः पुष्टिसंकरौ ।
ह्रासाभासौ शमः शेषः - - - - - Śl. 9.

In defining these also Bhoja is followed. The definition of Puṣṭi is a reproduction of S. K. Ā. V. 27.

विषयाश्रयसंस्कारगुणप्रकृतिपाटवैः ।
दीपनातिशयाच्चास्याः प्रकर्षः पुष्टिरुच्यते ॥

p. 74. Mad. Ms.

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[1] This is explained at greater length in Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa, chapter XI and I have explained it in full in a paper on Bhoja's conception of Alaṁkāra to be published.

The phrase 'समग्रात्मगुणसंपत्' which Bhoja uses in connection with his new Ahaṁkāra theory of Rasa (Vide S. K. A. V. Kārikā 2 and p. 613; आत्मसम्यग्गुणोद्भूतेः etc. and संग्रामे (समग्रात्म) गुणसंपदुत्पाद etc.) is utilised by Viśveśvara while considering Nāyaka. (p. 74).

In a special section in the Rasa-chapter, Viśveśvara first posits Rasa as Anubhavaikavedya, 'known only on the basis of experience,' since it is भावनामार्गातीत and विगलितवेद्यान्तर. But for those who may delight in logical and dry scholastic treatment, he says he will prove Rasa by each Pramāṇa.

Another noteworthy point in the work is that like the works of Rudraṭa and Rājaśekhara and like the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja which does it on a stupendous scale, the C. C. defines Pada and Vākya briefly. Taking Artha, it classifies it into Abhidheya, Lakṣya and Vyaṅgya and in the end of the chapter on Artha considered varieties of composition.

The most noteworthy part of the C. C. is however only its treatment of Rīti. Following Rudraṭa (the work does not mention Rudraṭa) it considers Rītis as names of collocation, compounded in various degrees and uncompounded. In Bhāmaha, we see Mādhurya and Ojas are almost defined as अनतिसमास 'not having too much compounds' and भूयस्त्वमास 'having much compounds' respectively. It can be accepted that Mādhurya is essential amongst all the Guṇas of the Vaidarbhī and Ojas among all those of the Gauḍī. According to Daṇḍin, the Gauḍī specialises in compounds, Samāsa. Thus compounds, from a very early time, were considered to take a large part in making up the differentia of the different *styles* of composition, Vaidarbhī etc.[1] Rudraṭa directly derives the Rītis from compounded and 'non-compound' collocation. Vaidarbhī is the Rīti of an 'Asamāsa Vṛtti' whereas the 'Samāsavatī Vṛtti' produces the three other Rītis of Pāñcālī, Lāṭīyā and Gauḍī, according to the comparative length of the compound. (Vide Rudrata: II. 3-6). Ānanda studies Saṅghaṭanā, with and without Samāsa, as suggestive of Rasa in Uddyota III but there he does not speak of Saṅghaṭanā as directly producing the Rītis. Viśveśvara follows Rudraṭa, defines Rītis

1 See my paper on Vṛttis, J. O. R. Madras, Vol. VIII. part 2. I have dealt with this subject in a paper on Rīti to be published.

as varieties of Saṅghaṭanā, according as they are compounded or otherwise, according as the compounded have few or more compounds. He has convenienced the study of the subject of Rīti to a large extent by dismissing the geographical names Vaidarbhī etc. which give rise to much speculation regarding the historical development of the various Rītis. He cuts away from the Daṇḍin tradition and casting off the various Guṇas that define Vaidarbhī etc. defines Ritis as such on the basis of the single Guṇa of Ojas, the quality or feature called 'compounds' or Samāsa. Says Viśveśvara—

रीतिः पदानां घटना प्रोक्ता रीतिविशारदैः ।
रीङ् गतावित्यतो धातोः रियन्ती रीतिरीर्यते ॥
असमासा समासेन मध्यमेन च भूषिता ।
अतिदीर्घसमासा च मिश्रा चेति चतुर्विधा ॥

p. 61. Mad. Ms.

Thus four Rītis are recognised and they are called असमासा, मध्यसमासा, अतिदीर्घसमासा and मिश्रा. Considering this with Rudraṭa's description, the असमासा and the अतिदीर्घसमासा can be recognised as the Vaidarbhī and the Gauḍī. He himself says that the Asamāsa Rīti can be found in the writings of the followers of the Vaidarbha mārga. The derivation of Rīti from the root रीङ् गतौ is from Bhoja's S. K. Ā. II. Śl. 27. The second verse is an adaptation of Ānanda's Dhva. Ā. III Ud. Kārikā 5, to the three kinds of Saṅghaṭanā given in which, Viśveśvara adds a fourth called Miśrā. The author's patron Śiṅgabhūpāla treats of Rītis in a different manner. (pp. 64-69. Triv. Edn. of R. A. S.) He combines Rudraṭa and Daṇḍin, adds something himself and christens Vaidarbhī, Gauḍīyā and Pāñcālī as Komalā, Kaṭhinā and Miśrā. [1]

Among Alaṁkāra works and writers, the Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana, Bhoja, Bhāvaprakāśikā, the Rasārṇava sudhākara of his patron Siṁhabhūpāla, his own teacher *Kāśīśvara* and his *Rasamīmāṁsā* are quoted. Bhāravikāvya (K. A.), Śrī Harṣadeva, Naiṣadhakāra, Murāri, Kālidāsa, his works, Harṣacarita,

1. Vide Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. X No. 4, my article on Rīti and Guṇa in the Agni Purāṇa.

Karṇāmṛta, Śiṅgabhūpālīya (a Kāvya), the present Nāyaka's (i. e. the hero, Śiṅgabhūpāla's) verses, *Tīrthakarakramottamsa mahākāvya*, and Kandarpa Sāmbhava are the poets and their works quoted. [1]

There are two references to the Rasārṇavasudhākara of his patron, Śingabhūpāla. In chap. 3., while describing the varieties of literary composition, Viśveśvara refers us to Simhabhūpāla's R. A. S. for Drama.

रूपकं दशधा प्रोक्तं × × × ।
× × × × ॥
सिंहभूपालरचिते रसार्णवसुधाकरे
अस्य प्रपञ्चो विज्ञेयः × × × ॥

Then, at the end of chapter V on Rasa he says that his own brief treament of Rasa is due to the fact that Simhabhūpāla has already treated of Rasa at length in his R. A. S. and that he, in his Camatkāracandrikā, is 'अन्यत्र बद्धदृष्टि' (p. 88) i. e., concerned with speaking of what has not been spoken of in the R. A S. viz., Poetics or Rhetoric as such under the heads of Doṣa, Guṇa and Alaṁkāra. Thus the R. A. S. and the C. C. supplement each other.

At first, works on Poetics approached from the standpoint of Alaṁkāra and were invariably named also Kāvyālaṁkāra. Then, with the rise of Rasa and Dhvani works on Poetics approached the subject from the 'Ātman' of poetry, viz., Rasa-Dhvani. Then came Bhoja whose work, the Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa, among the many points which it emphasised, emphasised the concept of Sāhitya also, which together with the brilliant treatment of the concept of Sāhitya in Kuntaka's Vakrokti Jīvita gave rise to a new kind of approach for a Poetics-treatise in the Sāhitya Mimāṁsā. [2] Another approach is that of Camatkāra, which is

[1] On p. 86. Viśveśvara quotes a well-known verse from the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari and the author is called here *Sārayogin*. "तथा च शेषावतारविशेषस्य भगवतः पतञ्जलेरभिप्रायं प्रकटयता व्याहृतं सारयोगिना—'न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके etc." Hari was probably called Sārayogin because of his commentary called Sāra on the Mahābhāṣya referred to by Kaiyaṭa: तथापि हरिबद्धेन सारेण ग्रन्थसेतुना ।.

[2] Mss. of this work are available in the Tanjore, Madras and Trivandrum Mss. libraries. The Triv. Skr. Series has announced its publication.

Of Sāhitya I have dealt with in a separate paper where I have examined this Sāhitya Mīmāṁsā.

poetic delight which comprehends all poetic elements from Guṇa and Śabdālaṁkāra to Rasa and Dhvani. It is on the basis of this Camatkāra which is लोकोत्तराह्लाद that Jagannātha gives his most comprehensive definition of poetry: रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकः शब्दः काव्यम् । रमणीयता च लोकोत्तराह्लादजनकज्ञानगोचरता । लोकोत्तरत्वं चाह्लादगतः चमत्कारापरपर्यायः अनुभवसाक्षिको जातिविशेषः । Almost the first regular Poetics-treatise to make an approach through this Camatkāra is this Camatkāra Candrikā of Viśveśvara. The work opens thus giving us that Camatkāra is the Sahṛdaya's delight on reading a poem and that its 'Ālambanas' in a poem are seven viz. Guṇa, Rīti, Vṛtti, Pāka, Śayyā, Alaṁkāra and Rasa.

चमत्कारस्तु विदुषां आनन्दपरिवाहकृत् ।
गुणं रीतिं रसं वृत्तिं पाकं शय्यां अलंकृतिम् ॥
सप्तैतानि चमत्कारकारणं ब्रुवते बुधाः ॥

(These introductory verses found in the I. O. Ms. and given in the I. O. C. are not found in the Mad. Ms. The Maṅgala Śloka of the C. C. given in the I. O. C. is a recast in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre of the Anuṣṭubh Maṅgala of Bhoja's S. K. A.)

Viśveśvara classifies poetry into three classes on the basis of the nature of the Camatkāra. The three classes are Camatkāri (Śabdacitra), Camatkāritara (Arthacitra and Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya) and Camatkāritama (Vyaṅgyapradhāna).

Much earlier than Viśveśvara, Kṣemendra, whose brain went on many a refreshing and original line, made this approach through Camatkāra in his small work, the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa. But he gave a different analysis of the points of Camtkāra in poetry. He says in the third Saṁdhi of his K. K. A. called चमत्कारकथनं—

"तत्र दशविधश्चमत्कारः— अविचारितरमणीयः, विचारितरमणीयः, समस्तसूक्तव्यापी, सूक्तैकदेशदृश्यः, शब्दगतः, अर्थगतः, शब्दार्थगतः, अलंकारगतः, रसगतः, प्रबन्धवृत्तिगतश्च ।"

This Viśveśvara Kavicandra, protege of Siṁhabhūpāla (1330 A. D.) has to be distinguished from Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa, author of Alaṁkāra Kaustubha and other works, who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century.

VII.

The Rasa Mīmāṁsā of Kāśīśvara miśra

Both in Dr. S. K. De's two volumes of Skr. Poetics and in the list of Alaṁkāra works appended to Mr. Kane's Introduction to the

Sāhitya Darpaṇa, we find the mention of only one Alaṁkāra work of the name Rasa Mīmāṁsā and that is by Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi. Except this Rasa Mīmāṁsā of Gaṅgārama, no other work of that name is found even in Aufrecht's Cat. Cat.

We now come to know of another Alaṁkāra work called Rasa Mīmāṁsā written by one Kāśiśvara who is the teacher of Viśveśvara, the author of the above noticed Camatkāra Candrikā. The source of our knowledge is Viśveśvara himself who quotes his work in the V chap. of his C. C. on Rasa.

"तथा चोक्तमस्मदाचार्यैः काशीश्वरमिश्रैः रसमीमांसायाम्—

' रसलक्ष्मीमनादृत्य वागारंभरतोरणम् ।
(वागाडम्बरतोषणम् ?)
पुण्ड्रेक्षो रसविद्वेषात् कर्जीषानुभवे यथा ॥ ' "

The time of Kāśiśvara miśra is the last quarter of the thirteenth century or about 1300 A. D. for the date of Siṁhabhūpāla, the patron of Kāśiśvra's pupil, Viśveśvara, is c. 1330 A. D.

VIII.

The Rasa Mīmāṁsā of Śrī Vidyācakravartin

Commenting on that variety of Śāstra-Samāsokti which has in it the combined utterance of the ideas of Bharata Śāstra, Śrī Vidyācakravartin, author of two Ṭīkās on the Kāvyaprakāśa and a commentary on Alaṁkāra Sarvasva, says that Rasa is the chief subject in Bharata, explains Bharata's Rasasūtra and at the end of its interpretation remarks in his commentary on the Alaṁkāra Sarvasva:

" दिङ्मात्रमिदं । रसमीमांसायां विस्तरः । प्रकृतानुपयोगीति न क्रियते । संप्रदायप्रकाशिन्यां काव्यप्रकाशटीकायां वितत्य कृत इति अत एव अवधार्य इत्यलम् । "

p. 99. Ms. of the Mad. Govt. Ori. Mss. Library.

Does this mean that in addition to his already known four works in Alaṁkāra and Nāṭya[1] viz., the Bṛhat and the Laghu Ṭīkās on the Kāvyaprakāśa, the commentary on the Alaṁkāra Sarvasva and the Bharata Saṁgraha, Śrī Vidyācakravartin wrote a work called Rasa Mīmāṁsā also?

[1] See my article on the subject, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XIV pp. 250–263. From Vol. V p. 29. of the Trivandrum Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. collected by Mm. T. Ganapati Sastry, we come to know that in addition to commenting on the Alaṁkāra sarvasva Śrī Vidyācakravartin wrote a metrical epitome of the Sarvasva in a work called Alaṁkāra sarvasva niṣkṛṣṭārtha kārikā.

IX.

The names of Abhinanda, the author of the Rāmacarita and the extent of the Rāmacarita

Our gratitude is due to Mr. K. S. Ramaswamy Sastriar of the Baroda Oriental Institute for the handsome edition of Abhinanda's great epic poem, the Rāmacarita. In its introduction, Mr. Ramaswamy Sastriar says that Abhinanda had another name Āryāvilāsa or simply Vilāsa.

Though he dipped into Kṣemendra's Suvṛttatilaka for the tribute paid by Kṣemendra to the Anuṣṭubhs of Abhinanda, Mr. K. S. Ramaswamy Sastriar missed an evidence available in the Aucityavicāracarcā of the same Kṣemendra, giving us a third name of Abhinanda. Mr. Sastriar notes that sometimes the anthologies refer to the poet as Gauḍa Abhinanda. Kṣemendra, in his Au. V. C. says that he is also called Gauḍa Kumbhakāra.

In the Au. V. C. (On p. 137. Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka 1), Kṣemendra says while illustrating Karaṇa-aucitya-

करणौचित्यं यथा गौडकुम्भकारस्य-

लाङ्गूलेन गभस्तिमान् वलयितः प्रोतः शशी मौलिना
व्याधूता जलदास्सटाभिरुडवो दंष्टाभिरुत्तम्भिताः।
प्रोत्तीर्णो जलधिर्दृशैव हरिणा स्वैरट्टहासोर्मिभिः
लङ्केशस्य च लङ्घितो दिशि दिशि प्राज्यः प्रतापानलः॥

This verse is found in canto 15 as verse 64 on p. 136 of the Gaek. edn. of the Rāmacarita of Abhinanda. This verse, as also that next to this, मूर्ध्ना जाम्बवतोऽभिवाद्य etc. which is the last verse of the canto were very well-known verses and we see them quoted in Alaṁkāra works often. From this we come to know that Abhinanda, otherwise known as Āryāvilāsa and Vilāsa was also called Gauḍa Kumbhakāra.

From this we also see that the Abinanda whom Kṣemendra refers to in his Suvṛttatilaka in connection with the Anuṣṭubh metre is not the author of the Rāmacarita of whom we are speaking here and whom Kṣemendra refers to not by the name Abhinanda but by the name Gauḍa Kumbhakāra. Further, whereas Jayanta's son, Abhinanda has written his Kādambarīkathāsāra in Anuṣṭubhs throughout, with the exception of a few verses at the end of the cantos, this Abhinanda has written only nine cantos of Anuṣṭubhs in a work of thirty-six chapters.

In his quotations in the Aucityavicāracarcā, the Suvṛtta tilaka and the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Kṣemendra preserves the titles, surnames etc. of the poets as preserved in his time. So, if we can see anything in the name 'Kumbhakāra,' we may say that it is to distinguish the two Abhinandas that Kṣemendra quotes the verse from the Rāmacarita under the name Gauḍa Kumbhakāra, which appears to be a satirical surname.

The original extent of the Rāmacarita

The text, as is now printed, runs up to 36 cantos and according to some Mss, four more cantos are also found in the name of Abhinanda. The editor dismisses as spurious those four cantos (37–40) found in Abhinanda's name. He also suggests that some later namesake might have written those four cantos and that Abhinanda's work ended with the 36th canto which contains in the end some concluding verses on the poet and the patron. (Vide Introduction, p. xxviii).

In this connection I wish to draw attention to the following verse found at the end of canto 22.

इति लेखयति स्म लेखकैः निजकर्माधिकवेतनाभृतैः।
अभिनन्दनिबन्धगौरवात् युवराजः शतकीं कथामिमाम् ॥

The verse says that this story as told in Abhinanda's Rāmacarita was made to be copied by copyists, paid in excess of their due rates. The reason for enhanced pay for copying consists in a Śleṣa in the word गौरव which also means 'bigness' and the adjective 'शतकी' as applied to the Kathā. I think that the word शतकी is a mistake for शतिका which word, as qualifying कथा means a work consisting of a hundred cantos. We have the neuter word शतकम् as the name of a common literary form, a composition or a minor poem in hundred verses. It is not unlikely that Abhinanda schemed a stupendous epic in a hundred cantos. I think that he proposed to include in the story of his Rāmacarita the story of the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa also. As it is, we find the poet going on leisurely and elaborately. With the 36th canto we have come up only to the killing of Kumbha and Nikumbha in the Yuddha Kāṇḍa and even if we take the other four cantos also found in Abhinanda's name we come only up to the Agnipraveśa of Sītā. It is unlikely, as the editor says, these four cantos are by Abhinanda himself. For one reason, Abhinanda would not have rushed through four cantos so much of the story.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XXVIII

DATE OF KEDĀRABHAṬṬA'S VṚTTARATNĀKARA

before A. D. 1297

Dr. Keith states in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* that Kedārabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara* which describes 136 metres was written before the 15th century [1] and that Mallinātha uses this work. [2] Aufrecht states [3] that a commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara* by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was composed in A. D. 1545.

The date of Mallinātha, according to Prof. Handiqui is "the 15th century or the latter portion of the 14th as he wrote a commentary on Vidyādhara's Ekāvalī in the 1st quarter of the 14th century. [4]

As Mallinātha uses the *Vṛttaratnākara* we shall have to put the date of *Vṛttaratnākara* earlier than the "latter portion of the 14th century" i. e. earlier than A. D. 1375.

It is proposed in the present note to push the date of the *Vṛttaratnākara* as far back as the 1st half of the 13th century i. e. by about 125 years or so on the basis of the following evidence :—

Caṇḍūpaṇḍita, one of the earliest commentators on the *Naiṣadhacarita* mentions *Vṛttaraṭnākara* in commenting on verse 76 of Canto X. His comment reads—

"वृत्तरत्नाकरे च द्वितीयाध्यायोक्तया जात्या तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमोक्तेन वृत्तेन भिद्यमानं द्विधाऽभवत् ।" [5]

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1 *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1928), p. 417.

2 Ibid, footnote 2. See also Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part. I, p. 124 (b).

3 *Cata. Catalo.* Part I, p. 597 (a).

4 *Naiṣadha*, (Punjab Ori. Series, No. XXIII) 1934—Intro. page XVIII.

5 Ibid, extract on p. 410.

Caṇḍūpaṇḍita gives his own date viz. Saṁvat 1353 or *A. D. 1297*.[1] This reference enables us to push back the date of *Vṛttaratnākara* as far back as A. D. 1250 or roughly the 1st half of the 13th century. The popularity of this work will be apparent from the fact that not less than 20 commentaries have been written on it [2] and that numerous copies of the work are extant in a manuscript form in different Manuscript libraries of the world.

XXIX.

JINASAMUDRASŪRI AUTHOR OF A COMMENTARY ON THE *KUMĀRASAMBHAVA* AND HIS EXACT DATE

Born *Saṁvat* 1506 (A. D. 1450) and died *Saṁvat* 1555 (A. D. 1499)

In my note in the Annals[3] (No. XXVI) I concluded on other evidence that Jinasamudra's commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* must have been composed towards the last quarter of the 15th century i. e. between A. D. 1475 and 1500. This inference was mainly based on the probable identity of this commentator with the Jinasamudrasūri who was a contemporary of Devakarṇa in *Saṁvat* 1536 (= A. D. 1480).

I have since examined all the colophons of the only Ms. of the *Kumārasambhavaṭīkā* by Jinasamudra (No. 337 of 1884-87) and found that all the seven colophons for the seven cantos are identical in their enumeration of the details about the author of the commentary viz. (1) खरतर गच्छ; (2) जिनप्रभसूरि; (3) जिनचन्द्रसूरि and जिनसमुद्रसूरि. In the *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvalī No. 1* we find the following remarks[4] about जिनप्रभ--

"अत्रान्तरे श्रीजिनप्रभगुरुश्रीजिनसिंहसूरेर्लघुखरतरगणो जज्ञे." In this "लघुखरतरगण" appear the following *Sūris*:--

"२०. श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरयः । चम्मगोत्रीयाः । पत्तने सा० सम्रासिंहकरितनंद्यां श्रीकीर्तिरत्नाचार्यैः स्थापिताः । अर्बुदाचले नवफणपार्श्वप्रतिष्ठापकाः । श्रीधर्मरत्न-श्रीगु-

1 See my note in the Journal of the Mythic Society (April 1928) where I have corrected Bühler's error as he gave A. D. 1456-7 as the date of composition of Caṇḍu's commentary.

2 Aufrecht: *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 495

3 *Annals*, Vol. XV (Parts III-IV), pp. 244-246.

4 *Kharatara Gaccha Paṭṭāvali Samgraha* (compiled by Sri Jinavijya; Pub. by Puranchand Nahar, 48 Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, 1932) p. 11.

णरत्नाचार्यादि महापदकर्तारः कर्मग्रंथवेत्तारश्च । ५० वर्ष सर्वायुषः । स्वयं ज्ञातावसानात् जेसलमेरौ सप्रभावस्तूपा अभुवन् सं १५३७ । "

२१. श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरयः । परीक्षगोत्रे वाग्भटमेरौ देका-देवलदेसुताः । पुंजपुरे मंडपतः समागतः । मउटीया श्रीमालसोनपालकरितनंद्यां श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरिस्थापिताः । साधितपंचनदिसोमरादियक्षाः । महाचारित्रिणोऽहम्मदावादे सं १५५५ स्वर्गं ययुः "

The identity presumed by me in my previous note is amply proved by the above extracts which corroborate all the details of the colophons of the *Kumārasambhavaṭīkā* about Jinasamudra and the line of the *Sūris* in the *Kharataragaccha* to which he belonged.

Further *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvalī No.* 2[1] also furnishes more details about Jinasamudra :—

" ५७—तत्पट्टे सप्तपंचाशत्तमः श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरिः etc."

" ५८—तत्पट्टे अष्टपंचाशत्तमः श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरिः । तस्य च बाहडमेरुवासी पारख-गोत्रीयदेकासाहपिता, मांतादेवलदेवी । सं. १५०६ जन्म, सं. १५२१ दीक्षा, सं. १५३० मा० सु० १३ जेसलमेरुवास्तव्य संघपति सोनपालकृतनंदिमहोत्सवेन श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरिभिः स्वहस्तेन पदस्थापनाकृता । ततः पंचनदीसोमयक्षादि साधकाः, परम चारित्रवंतः श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरयः सं. १५५५ अहमदावादनगरे स्वर्गं गताः॥ ५८ ॥

It will be seen from the above evidence that *Jinasamudarasūri* in the above Paṭṭāvalis is identical with the Jinasamudra, the author of the commentary on the *Kumārasambhava.* He was born in Saṁvat 1506 (= A. D. 1450) became a *Sūri* in Saṁvat 1521 (= A. D. 1465) i. e. at the age of fifteen and died at Ahmedabad in Saṁvat 1555 (= A. D. 1499) having lived about 49 years. His commentary must have been written *between A. D. 1465 and A. D. 1499* after he settled down in the Khartaragaccha as a *Sūri.*

XXX

THE *TERMINUS AD QUEM* FOR THE DATE OF BHĀNUDATTA, THE AUTHOR OF THE *RASAMAÑJARĪ*

Dr. S. K. De makes the following remarks[2] while dealing with the date of Bhānudatta the author of the *Rasamañjarī* :—

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1 Ibid, p. 33.

2 *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 248.

"The other terminus is furnished by the date of one of the commentaries on the *Rasamañjarī* called the *Rasamañjarīvikāsa* (or Vilāsa) by Gopāla (alias Vopadeva), son of Nṛsiṁha which is expressly dated in 1428 A. D. Dr. De further[1] states that "the comm. is dated Saṁvat 1484=1428 A. D. ..... Mr. Saridhar R. Bhandarkar points out (Rep. of Second Tour 1904-06 p. 36) that the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein (extr. p. 273) but he thinks it is Śaka era, in which case the date of commentary will be 1572 A. D.

As the above statements of Dr. De left me in uncertainty about the exact terminus I examined the grounds of Mr. Bhandarkars's statement that the year belongs to the Śaka era and that the date of the commentary would, therefore, be 1572 A. D. My examination shows that Mr. Bhandarkar's conclusion is correct as will be seen from the following facts:—

(1) Mr. S. R. Bhandarkar's remarks[2] about the date of the commentary under reference are as follows:—

"The date of composition is given as 'युगरन्ध्रवेदधरणी गण्येंगिरो-वत्सरे.' रन्ध्र means nine and so the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein. The era is not specified. But the name of the cyclic year Angiras shows that it is the Śaka year. So the era of the date of Stein's Ms. must be the Śaka era since the date is 1514."

(2) Mr. Bhandarkar is correct in taking रन्ध्र to mean *nine* and not *eight* as interpreted by Stein in his extract on p. 273 of his Catalogue (see p. 120 of Ojha's Palaeography of India, 1918). Hence the year is 1494 and not 1484.

(3) Dr. Stein was doubtful about his interpretation of the chronogram as he records it with a sign of interrogation thus—"युगरन्ध्रवेदधरणी (1484?) गण्ये गिरो वत्सरे"

(4) Dr. Stein could not properly make use of the incorrect expression "गण्ये गिरो वत्सरे" as recorded in his Manuscript. The correct expression is found in the Ms. seen by Mr. Bhandarkar and which he records as "गण्येंगिरोवत्सरे.' In this expression the

1 Ibid p. 252.

2 *Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss. in Rajputana and Central India—1904-05 and 1905-06*, p. 36.

presence of the *anusvāra* gives us clearly the word ' अंगिरो ' instead of the word गिरो which could not make any meaning in Stein's Ms.

(5) Mr. Bhandarkar is also correct in stating that Aṅgiras is the name of the Śaka year and not of a Saṁvat year. This statement is borne out by a reference to *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. V, 1922, p. 346) where the name of Śaka 1494 is mentioned to be *Aṅgiras*. On p. 77 of the same volume Saṁvat 1494 is mentioned to have *Raktākṣa* as its name which conflicts with the name अंगिरम् as given in the Ms.

It will thus be seen that the date of the com. *Rasamañjarīvikāsa is A. D. 1572 and not 1428 A. D. Consequently the later terminus for Bhānudatta's date is A. D. 1572 and not 1428 A. D.*

XXXI

DATE OF SĀRĀVALĪ OF KALYĀṆAVARMAṆ

between A. D. 550 and A. D. 966

Mr. V. Subrahmanya Shastri writes in his preface to the edition of *Sārāvalī* [1] of Kalyāṇavarman : " In my attempts to make out the ambiguous portion of certain Ślokas in Jātakapārijāta [2] I had to refer to Bṛhaṭjjātaka and its commentary by Bhaṭṭotpala to decide upon the right interpretation of the dubious passages. I found that *Bhaṭṭotpala who lived in the time of Emperor Jehangir* supported his explanations of the passages in Varāhamihira's work by largely quoting from Sārāvalī, because his authority on astrological points was undisputedly acknowledged in his time. " " The author Kalyāṇavarman appears to have flourished between the ages of Varāhamihira and Bhaṭṭotpala. "

I wonder on what authority Mr. Subrahmanya Shastri makes the statement that Bhaṭṭotpala lived in the time of Emperor Jehangir whose period of reign is A. D. 1605-1627. The date of Varāhamihira[3] being A. D. 505 we shall have to conclude on the

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[1] *Sarāvalī* (3rd edition) 1928 (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay ; Perface pp. 1-2.

[2] Vide *Jātakapārijāta* of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita Vol. I (1932) and Vol. II (1933) with English Translation and Notes by V. Subrahmanya Shastri, Bangalore.

[3] Duff: *Chronology of India*, p. 38.

assumption of the contemporaneity of Bhaṭṭotpala and Emperor Jehangir that Kalyāṇavarman flourished between A. D. 505 and A. D. 1627.

Mr. Shastri's statement however appears to be wrong in view of the following facts :—

(1) *Bhaṭṭotpala*, the commentator on the Bṛhajjātaka of Varāhamihira wrote his commentary in A. D. 966.[1] This commentary is called Jagaccandrikā[2]

(2) There is no other commentary on the Bṛhajjātaka ascribed to any other Bhaṭṭotpala except the one refered to above which is expressly dated in A. D. 966.

Our conclusion, therefore, would be that Kalyāṇavarman flourished between A. D. 505 the date of Varāhamihira and A. D. 966 the date of Bhaṭṭotpala who quotes from Sārāvalī as stated by Shastri in the extract from his Preface given above.

In Duff's Chronology of India, however, the following statement is found re. *Kalyāṇavarman* :—

"*A. D. 578*— Kalyāṇavarman, the astronomer, probably flourished about this date. He lived after Varāhamihira and was probably a contemporary of Brahmagupta—*Gaṇakataraṅgiṇī*, ed. Sudhākara, *The Pandit* N. S. XIV.[3]

We know as a matter of fact that the astronomer Brahmagupta was born in A. D. 598[1] and wrote his Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta in Śaka 550 (= A. D. 628) that is at the age of thirty. If Kalyāṇavarman flourished about A. D. 578, Brahmagupta's literary activity began about A. D. 628 i e. about 50 years later. Brahmagupta wrote another work viz. Khaṇḍakhādyaka[4] in A. D. 665 i. e. 37 years after the date of the *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*. These dates throw some doubt on the theory of contemporaneity of Brahmagupta and Kalyāṇavarman so far as the above facts go.

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1 Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 534.
2 Aufrecht : *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 64.
3 Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 44.
4 Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 522.

XXXII

THE *SAṀGĪTACŪḌAMAṆI* AND ITS PROBABLE DATE

Before A. D. 1200

Aufrecht does not record any Mss. of the work on music called the Saṁgītacūḍamaṇi in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. There are, however, to be found references to and quotations from this work in literature on music as also in allied literature as will be shown below.

In a work called the *Bharataśāstragrantha* a Ms. of which is available at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, (No. 40 of 1916-18) the following quotations have been ascribed to the *Saṁgīta-cūḍāmaṇi*:—

folio 3 — " तदुक्तं संगीतचूडामणौ

चतुर्भिर्धातुभिः षड्भिश्चाङ्गैर्यस्मात्प्रयुज्यते ।
तस्मात्प्रबन्धः कथितः प्रतापः पृथिवीभुजाम् ॥
उद्ग्राह्यस्य तु चत्वारो स्वरादीनि च सप्तधा ।
वसन्ति यत्र संज्ञेयः प्रबन्धो वस्तुसंज्ञया ॥
उद्ग्राह प्रथमो भागस्ततो मेधा प्रतद्रवे ।
आभोगश्च प्रबन्धश्च चत्वारो धातवो मताः ॥
पदश्चेन्नौच.....पादौ तालस्वरौ तथा ।
अङ्गान्येतानि षट् प्राहुः प्रबन्धस्य यथाक्रमम् ॥ "

folio 10 — " तदुक्तं संगीतचूडामणौ

प्रबन्धेषु ध्रुवत्वेन ध्रुव इत्याभिधीयते
स्वयं येऽत्र प्रबन्धे स्याद्यदनेनैवपूरणम् ॥ इति "

I have shown elsewhere [1] that the *Bharatśāstragrantha* which contains the above quotations from the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* was written in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century.

A reference to the *Saṃgītacūḍāmaṇi* from a 15th century work is furnished by Mr. Raghvan,[2] a Research Student of the University of Madras, who states that a work called *Cūḍāmaṇi* is quoted and criticized in the *Tālapadikā* of Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla, who was Governor under Devarāya II (1423-1446 A. D.) of the Vijaya-nagar Dynasty and that most likely it is King Pratāpa's *Saṁgīta-*

[1] *Annals*, Vol. XV, pp. 240-242.

[2] *Later Saṁgīta Literature* (published in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy), p. 11 of the offprint kindly supplied to me by the author.

cūḍāmaṇi. If this assumption is correct we can take this as a 15th century reference to the work.

Mr. Raghavan also gives us a still earlier reference[1] viz. that made by Pārśvadeva in his *Saṁgītasamayasāra*.[2] This reference is not made to the title of the work but to its author "*Pratāpa-bhūbhuj*" or King Pratāpa in the following verse:—

"पश्चतालेश्वरो यद्वद् हृदं गद्यमचापिवा ।
आलिक्रमोयमेवोक्तः प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा ॥"

That King Pratāpa or "*Pratāpapṛthivībhūbhuj*" mentioned by Pārśvadeva in the above verse was the author of the work *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* is proved by the first verse in the extract from the *Bharataśāstragrantha* (folio 3) given above. The 2nd line of this extract, explicitly stated by the author of the *Bharata-śāstragrantha* to be from the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi*, contains the name of King *Pratāpa* in the following line which reads—

"तस्मात्प्रबन्धः कथितः प्रतापः पृथिवीभुजाम्"

The reading "प्रतापः पृथिवीभुजाम्" makes no meaning and is obviously wrong being a substitute made by the copyist for the original reading, which must have been "प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा" Pārśvadeva's verse quoted above, in which the expression "प्रताप-पृथिवीभुजा" occurs appears to have been modelled on the verse from the *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇi* as quoted in the *Bharataśāstragrantha*. The expression "प्रतापपृथिवीभुजा" is identical in both the verses and Mr. Raghavan appears to be right in his inference that Pārśvadeva is referring in his verse to King Pratāpa, the author of the *Saṃgītacūḍāmaṇi*. As Mr. Raghavan assigns Pārśvadeva to a period between A. D. 1165 and A. D. 1350 we may take this reference to be, say a 13th century reference to the *Saṃgītacūḍāmaṇi*.

A still earlier reference to the *Saṃgītacūḍāmaṇi* is furnished by Prof. Handiqui[3] from the commentary on the Naiṣadha by Vidyādhara which is assigned by him to about 1250 A. D. This

[1] *Some Names in Early Saṁgīta Literature* (paper read before the Madras Music Conference, December 1931) p. 3 of the offprint supplied to me by the author.

[2] *Saṁgītasamayasāra* (Triv. Sans. Series) p. 29.

[3] *Naiṣadha* (Translation) Punjab Oriental Series, 1934, Introduction, p. X.

commentator quotes two works on music viz. (1) *Saṃgītacūdāmaṇi* and (2) *Saṃgītasāgara* in his gloss on canto XXI verses 126-128. This reference in a work of about 1250 A. D. proves that the work *Saṃgītacūḍāmaṇi* must have been *composed before A. D. 1200.* The popularity of the work is shown not only by the above references but also by the fact that it is referred to in a work on music published in 1842 A. D.[1] I am not aware if any Mss. of the *Saṃgītacūḍāmaṇi* have been traced. Recently I inquired about this work of the Travancore Durbar but the Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Travancore informed me that the Palace Library contains a Ms. of the Saṁgītacintāmaṇi only and not of the Saṁgītacūdāmaṇi.

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[1] The *Saṁgītarāgakalpadruma* by Krishnananda Vyāsadeva (published in 1842 and reedited by the Bangīyasāhityapariṣad in 1916) refers to a work called *Cūḍāmaṇī* which I presume to be *Saṁgītacūḍāmaṇī*. My reference is found on folio 28 of Ms. No. 980 of 1887-91 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute and not to the printed edition.

ANENT THE UNDERGROUND LIBRARY OF ŚRĪ MADHVĀCĀRYA AT KAṬṬATALA.

BY

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Kaṭṭatala is a village situated about six miles to the west of the town of Viṭṭala in the Puttūr taluq of the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency. The place is approached by an indifferent countryside road from Viṭṭala *via* Ānegal. There is a Mādhva Mutt at the place now under the management of the Adhmār Mutt of Udipi. Here is kept in worship amongst a number of other idols, one of 'Gopālakṛṣṇa' playing on the flute accompanied on either side by those of Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā and a number of small figures of cows etc., all mounted on the same base. The idol is said to have been the one worshipped by Madhva prior to the acquisition of the famous 'Udipi Kṛṣṇa.'

Not far from the Mutt is the *Pustaka-tīrtha* (Book-Pond)- a small well measuring about 31 '' square, with a masonry structure. Underneath this well are reported to lie buried copper-plate copies of some of the rare original works relied upon by Madhva in his works, presumably secured in an air-tight box of iron or some other metal.

The Mādhva tradition has it that these works had been deposited here by Madhvācārya before his final disappearance from vision,[1] and that they will be unearthed and made use of for the re-enlightenment of the world at the close of the Kali Age by Viṣṇu Tīrtha,[2] now reported to be doing penance in the sylvan retreats of the Kumāra-parvata in the Subrahmaṇya Kṣetra.

What exactly are the works thus preserved in this subterranean refuge it is impossible to say, as nothing in support and proof of their presence there could be cited beyond the weight of tradition. One view is that the works include nothing more

1. The works of Madhva make no allusion to this incident.

2. Viṣṇu Tīrtha was the younger brother of Madhva and was ordained by him as the first Pontiff of the Sode Mutt

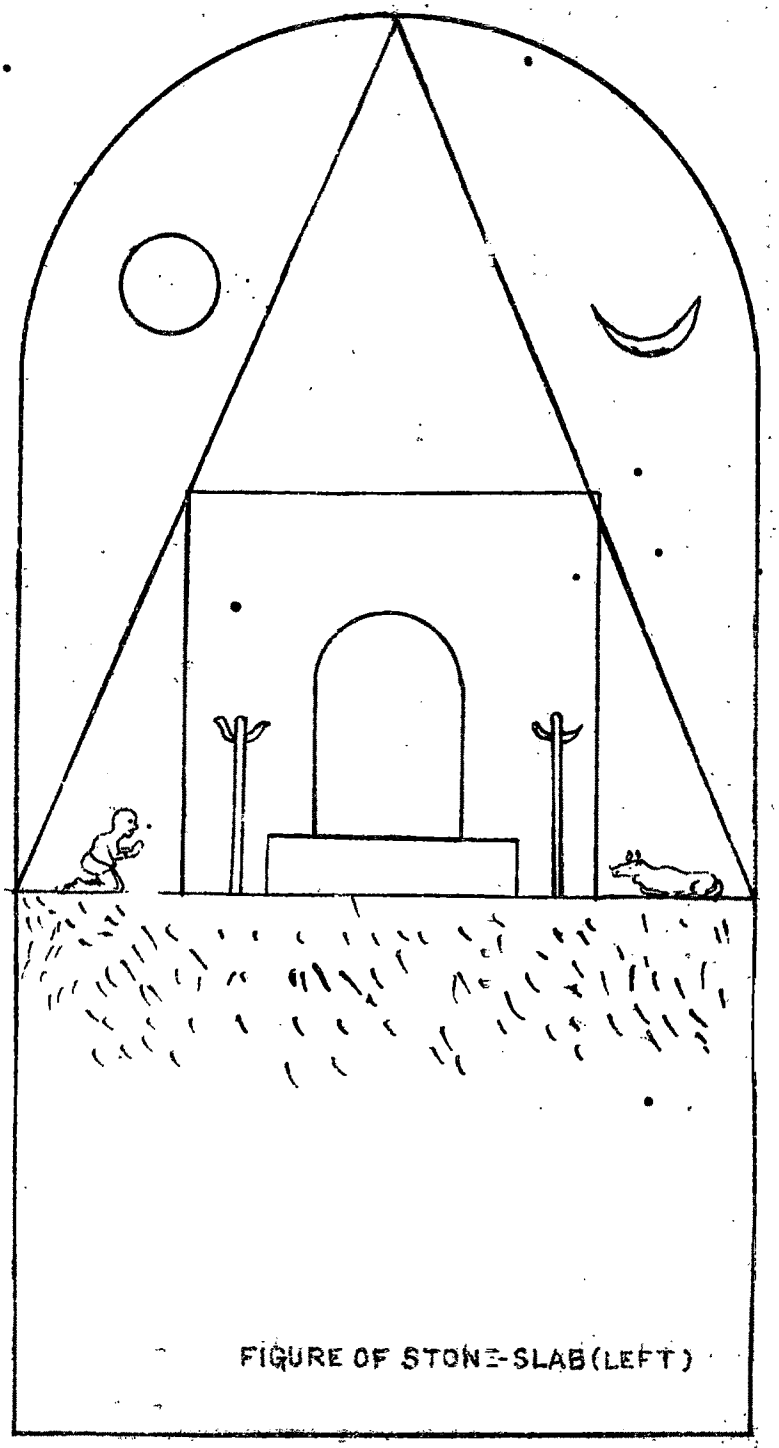

FIGURE OF STONE-SLAB (LEFT)

than the copper-plate transcripts of the thirty-seven works of Madhva. Another view has it that the treasure includes copies of some if not all of the rare original Source-books of Madhva's system. There are, however, two inscribed stone-slabs set up on either side of the pathway leading to the well and these are claimed to refer to the incident of the burial of the books there and even to give a list of all the works secured underneath the well.

In the course of one of his letters to me, Dr. Otto Schrader of the Kiel University, had made a reference to the tradition about the burial of Madhva's Library at Kaṭṭatala and had expressed a desire to know more about the truth of it all. Accordingly, I took the opportunity of repairing to Kaṭṭatala and making a personal inspection of the spot in the course of one of my visits to Mangalore in May 1933. The results of my observation may be summed up as follows :—

As already remarked there are two inscribed stone-slabs planted on either side of the avenue in front of the gateway of the Pustaka-tīrtha. The one on the left (as we enter the Tīrtha), measures roughly 31 " by 23. " On the panel of it are found inscribed the figures of a Śiva-liṅga in the centre, lighted up by a lamp (?) on either side,- a disc representing the Sun and the figure of a kneeling devotee immediately below, on the left. Correspondingly on the right we have the figures of a Crescent and a Bull (Nandī). On the body of the stone-slab is an inscription running to about eighteen lines, in Kannaḍa characters which are not, however, legible to the naked eye. The language of the Inscription also, may turn out to be Kannaḍa.

The other is a plain unornamented stone-slab measuring about 24" by 16 ". It also bears an inscription evidently in Kannaḍa characters; but the lines are quite faded.

None of the two inscriptions, however, appears on calm consideration, to have anything to do with Madhva's underground Library at Kaṭṭatala. One of them at least, -the one on the left- is unmistakably a Śaivite Inscription judging from the figures of the Liṅga and the Bull which go with it. Both of them, therefore, are presumably concerned with gifts or land-grants to some Śaiva or Liṅgāyata temple of the vicinity-evidently shifted to

their present place under a mistaken belief that they had something to do with the episode connected with Madhva's library. Of course, it would be unwise to dogmatise where proof is lacking. No conclusion can be arrived at until the two inscriptions are properly deciphered and studied. What I have put forward is only a layman's impression of the matter.

It is a real pity that the presence of these two inscriptions at Kaṭṭatala has not so far been brought to the notice of the Archaeological Department. Being situated in the interior of a jungly tract, their existence had evidently escaped the touring parties of the Department. It would be no exaggeration to say that the Department would be doing an immense service to the cause of historical truth in general and the Dvaita Vedānta in particular if it causes immediate steps to be taken to have the two inscriptions at Kaṭṭatala properly deciphered and published and earn for itself the credit of being instrumental in unravelling once and for all one of the long-standing mysteries connected with the Dvaita Vedānta.

KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA AND KĀLIDĀSA

Some time back, a play named Kaumudīmahotsava has been published in the Dakṣiṇabhārati series. Mr K. P. Jayaswal has fixed its date at c. 340 A. D.[1] and seeing that the historical details alluded to in that play suit only that period of the Gupta dynasty, that date seems to be correct.

But, though Mr. Jayaswal has placed this play in the first half of the 4th century, he places Kālidāsa in the reign of Samudragupta and Candragupta II.[2] It seems that this is not borne out by evidence. In fact, Kaumudīmahotsava evinces profound influence of Kālidāsa. It is to show this that I write this note.

There are many ideas and phrases which have been borrowed by Kaumudi° from Kālidāsa. I shall proceed to show this.

(1) KM. the word कृत्तिवासाः in the नान्दी = Māl° the same word

(2) KM. कृष्णशारां कटाक्षेण कृष्णवलक्षिशोभिका ।
करोत्येषा कराग्रेण कर्णे कलममञ्जरीम् ॥ (I, 3)
Vikr° कृष्णशारच्छविर्योऽसौ दृश्यते काननाश्रियः ।
वनशोभावलोकाय कटाक्ष इव पातितः ॥ (IV, 31)

(3) KM. तपनीयाशोक p. 3 = Māl° (Nir. Pr.) pp. 91, 92, 93, 94, etc.

(4) KM. मिथ्यैव प्रतिभाति शैशवकथा स्वप्नो नु माया नु मे (I, 10)
Śāk°. स्वप्नो नु माया नु मतिभ्रमो नु (VI, 10) as also
मिथ्यैव etc. (II, 5. last line)

(5) KM. अथवा नेदं कलहंसविरुतम् । कुतः
काञ्चीकलरवोन्मिश्रं पादक्रमविलम्बितम् ।
मञ्जुवाचामिदं मञ्जु मञ्जीरशिञ्जितम् ॥ (1, 13)
Vikr° कूजितं राजहंसेन नेदं नूपुरशिञ्जितम् । (IV, 30)

(6) KM. तत्तस्य सोऽयमनघस्तपसो विपाकः । (1, 15)
Vikr° तत्तेन तत्तमयसा घटनाय योग्यम् । (II, 16)

(7) KM. I, 16 = Śāk° I, 25.

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[1] See ABORI, Vol. XII, p. 50. and his 'History of India, pp. 112ff.
[2] See his History of India p. 210.

(8) KM. अशक्यारम्भप्रवृत्तं तत्रभवन्तं मन्युरेश्वरं पश्यामि ।-
इदं किलाविष्कृतकान्तिविप्लवं
तुषारवातातपदर्शनेष्वपि ।
शरीरसुद्यानाशिरीषपेलवं
तपोवनक्लेशसहं भविष्यति ॥ (I, 23)

Śāk° असाधुदर्शी खलु तत्रभवान्काश्यपः यः इमामाश्रमधर्मे नियुङ्क्ते ।
इदं किलाव्याजमनोहरं वपुः
तपः क्षमं साधयितुं य इच्छति ।
ध्रुवं स नीलोत्पलपत्रधारया
शमीलतां छेत्तुमृषिर्व्यवस्यति ॥ (I, 16)

(9) In fact, this whole scene between Kalyāṇavarman and Kīrtimati is strongly reminiscent of the similar scene in the first act of Śākuntala.

(10) In KM. when, at the end of the first act, Kīrtimati leaves the stage, an obstacle of a मार्गलता is described : it is a famous trick of Kālidāsa.

(11) KM. (I, 31) = Śāk° (II, 17), Vikr° (II, 5).

(12) KM. An 'आमिषलुब्धश्येन' is described as taking away Kīrtimati's necklace : Vikr° has the same trick in the last act.

(13) KM. 2, 4 = Śāk° III, 7.

(14) KM. तदनयोर्वागर्थयोरिव समवायं करिष्यामि । p. 21
Raghu° वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ०

(15) KM.-शैलेयगन्धीनि शिलातलेऽस्मिन्-p. 24
Raghu°-शैलेयगन्धीनि शिलातलानि.

(16) KM. III, 10 = Vikr° II, 22.

(17) KM. (p. 47) resorts to the same trick as in Vikr° (III, 15).

(18) Kāl. is fond of describing the condition described in KM. V, 25.

(19) KM. दृष्ट्वासन्ने मयि तु सहसा स्वां वधूं वञ्चयित्वा
लौल्यात् पीत्वा कमलमधुपं काम्पि प्रार्थयन्तम् ।
ध्यात्वा दूये सजलनयनं भङ्गुरभ्रूताकम्
प्रेमाङ्कं यत्प्रणयकुपितं कोपनाथ प्रियायाः ॥ (V, 27)

This verse reminds one of many a verse in Meghadūta. 'सजलनयन,' 'भ्रूपताकम्,' 'प्रणयकुपित' वधूं वञ्चयित्वा' are some of Kā..'s famous expressions.

(20) KM. नृत्तारम्भप्रवितताशिखश्वेष्टतां नीलकण्ठो
भृङ्गाघ्रातैः सुरभिककुभः पुष्पमाविष्करोतु ।
प्रत्यावृत्ताः पुनरभिमताः साधु सीमन्तिनीनां
गण्डाभोगव्यतिकरवतीं वेणीमुद्वेष्टयन्तु ॥ (V, 33)

This verse shows still clear echoes of Meghadūta. सुरभिककुभः सीमन्तिनीनां, गण्डाभोग, वेणीमुद्वेष्टयन्तु etc. are some of the expressions known to the readers of Meghadūta.

These parallelisms (particularly Nos. 1, 2, 4, 8, 14, 15, 19 and 20) will leave no doubt about the indebtedness of KM. to Kālidāsa. It is thus clear that Kālidāsa lived before the composition of KM. [1]

D. R. Mankad

[1] While reading proofs of this note, I received IHQ for Dec. 1934, in which appears a note on this same subject by Mr. Dasarath Sarma. I should, therefore, mention that I had published this note originally in Gujarati in the Gujarati monthly Kaumudī for October 1934. Our investigations, therefore, have run on independent lines.

ON KUNDAMĀLĀ

In his very interesting paper on the date of the *Kundamālā* (*Annals*, Vol. XV, pp. 236-239), Dr. Woolner has referred to the question of the authorship of this work. I may in this connection refer to a short note on the *Kundamālā* which I contributed to *JRAS*, 1924, pp. 663-64. It was Dr. F. W. Thomas who first threw doubt on the genuineness of the attribution of this work to Diṅnāga in *JRAS*, 1924, p. 261. I drew attention to Professor Sylvain Lévi's account of the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* in *JA*, t. ccii, Octobre-Dècembre, 1932, at p. 195, where the authors of the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* (second half of the 12th century) cite a *Kundamālā Vīranāga-nibaddha*. Now that the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, edited from another Jaina Ms., has been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (No. XLVII, 1929), the citation will be found at p. 48 of the printed text. This Vīranāga may not unlikely be the Dhīranāga of the Tanjore Mss. The *bhadanta* Dhīranāga of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* may or may not be the same person. Professor Lévi's conjecture that the *Kundamālā*, referred to in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, is the same as the *Kuṇḍamālā-nāṭaka* by Nāgayya mentioned by Burnell 168a (Cf. Aufrecht, under Nāgayya) lacks corroboration: for Nāgayya's work appears to consist of five acts only.

It seems likely therefore that the name of the author of the *Kundamālā* was either Dhīranāga or Vīranāga, and not Diṅnāga as given by the Mysore Ms. only. If this is so, then one would have no difficulty in subscribing to Dr. Woolner's statement that "if the author's name should turn out to be Dhīranāga all these arguments for putting the Kundamālā in the fifth century would disappear."

S. K. De

THE AGNIKULA MYTH

There is much difference of opinion among historians regarding the origin of the Agnikula clans–the Cauhānas, the Paramāras, the Pratihāras and the Cālukyas. But perhaps all will agree that the part of the myth making Vaśiṣṭha the creator of four warriors, the destroyers of *rākṣasas* or non-Hindus, was originally inspired by some verse like the following :

शकयवनदरदपारतकाम्बोजांस्तापसान् वनोपेतान् ।
हन्ति वशिष्ठोभिहतो विवृद्धिदो रश्मिसंपन्नः ॥ [1]

(Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, p. 282, Benares edition)

The account contained in the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* and Paramāra inscriptions does not follow it closely. But the account of the *Cand Rāso*, which cleverly combines into one new story the particulars given by the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* and the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, is surely ninety per cent in consonance with Varāhamihira's dictum quoted above.

Dasharatha Sharma.

[1] The verse states that Vaśiṣṭha getting *abhitapta* destroys the Yavanas, Davadas, Pāratas, and Kāmbojas, or, in other words, the non-Aryan tribes, generally classed as *Mlecchas* by Indian writers. Saying that the sage destroys these, not himself, but through the agency of warriors born from his fire pit, is the first and the most natural step forward in the development of the myth.

KADAMBA KRSNAVARMAN I.

Mr. G. M. Moraes, author of *Kadambakula*, says that, during the reign of the Kadamba king Śāntivarman, his younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman " had been ruling in the capacity of viceroy over the southern provinces of the Empire. For the Birur plates of Vishṇuvarma, while describing Śāntivarma, the grand-uncle (? uncle) of Vishṇuvarma, as the ' master of the entire Karnāṭa region of the earth', clearly specify that his younger brother Kṛishṇavarma ' was sovereign of the southern region.' Now the same plates record a grant made by Viṣṇuvarman, during his father Kṛishṇavarma's life. This grant wss nevertheless made ' with the permission of Śāntivarma Dharma-mahārāja. ' This evidently shows that the donor as well as Kṛishṇavarma, the father of the donor, occupied a subordinate position under Śāntivarma " (p. 29). Mr. Moraes further thinks that, after the death of Śāntivarman, Kṛṣṇavarman I broke up relations with his nephew Mṛgeśavarman and became the founder of a southern branch of the Kadambas which ruled from Triparvata (pp. 30–31). In the present note the author is going to prove that all the above statements of Mr. Moraes are entirely unworthy of authentic history.

According to Mr. Moraes, the evidence of the Birur plates proves that Kṛṣṇavarman I was the viceroy of the southern districts of the Kadamba empire under Śāntivarman. Three points are however to be noticed in this connection. Firstly, in the Birur grant Kṛṣṇavarman I has been called *aśva-medha-yājī* (performer of the Horse sacrifice). I have elsewhere proved from the evidence of the Śāstras and the inscriptions that " a subordinate king could never perform the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice " (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 312). Kṛṣṇavarman I therefore could not be a feudatory or a viceory of Śāntivarman, but was certainly an independent king himself. Secondly, the Birur grant calls him *Dakṣiṇāpatha-vasumatī-vasupati* (Lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣināpatha) which clearly shows that Kṛṣṇavarman I claimed a

sort of suzerainty over the whole of the Deccan. The word *Dakṣiṇāpatha* of the Birur grant can not mean the Southern part of the Kadamba empire. "Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha" seems to have been the hereditary title of the great Sātavāhana kings. Pulumāvi-Vāsiṣṭhīputra has been called Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati in the Nasik inscription of year 19. The Sātavāhana contemporary (Pulumāvi ?) of the Śaka Satrap Rudradāman is also called Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati Śātakarṇi in the Junagadh inscription. The significance of the claim of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I to have been "Lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha" is possibly to be found in his performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice which cannot be performed without a *dig-vijaya* (*Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 311–13). In this connection we must also notice that Kṛṣṇavarman, in the Devagiri grant, has been called *ekātapatra*, " possessor of the *sole* umbrella," which, as Mr. Moraes himself suggests (op. cit., p. 39, note 2), " is indicative of universal sovereignty." The third important point is that the grant recorded in the Birur plates was *not* " made by Vishṇuvarma, during his father Kṛishṇavarma's life," as Mr. Moraes would let us believe. The donor of the Birur grant was *Śrī-Viṣṇuvarma-Dharma-mahārāja*, eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarma-Dharmamahārāja. Since Viṣṇuvarman has been called *Dharmamahārāja*, he was obviously a crowned king at the time of granting the Birur plates. Kṛṣṇavarman I could not have reigned then as the overlord of his son Viṣṇuvarman ; because the latter is reported to have granted lands with the permission of his *jyeṣṭhapitā* (father's elder brother), whose name was Śāntivarman. It is therefore certain that Kṛṣṇavarman I died before the end of Śāntivarman's rule and could not have been the founder of a southern branch of the Kadamba family *after the death of Śāntivarman*. There is nothing in the Birur grant to prove that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a viceroy of Śāntivarman. On the other hand, it is certain that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a great and independent king who performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. It is most likely that this king died before the beginning of Śāntivarman's rule.

Mr. Moraes thinks that the Devagiri grant of *yuvarāja* Devavarman, dear son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was issued when the latter " set up as an independent sovereign ; " while the Birur grant was issued some time earlier when Kṛṣṇavarman I was still a viceroy

of Śāntivarman (*Kadambakula*, pp. 30-31). This view also is utterly untenable. The Devagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 34) was issued by Devavarma-*yuvarāja*, dear son of Dharma-mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman. It is clear that this grant was issued during the reign of Kṛṣṇavarman himself. But the Birur grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) was issued, as we have seen above, by the Kadamba *Dharmamahārāja* Viṣṇuvarman who certainly ruled after his father Kṛṣṇavarman Dharmamahārāja. The Devagiri grant was therefore issued sometime earlier than the Birur grant.

The line of argument we have followed would show that Śāntivarman, if he was the elder brother of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was somehow prevented from ascending the throne by the latter who was his younger brother.[1] It must also be noticed that, though according to the Birur grant Viṣṇuvarman was the eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, one of the former's younger brothers, Devavarman, has been called *yuvarāja* in the Devagiri grant. If the word *yuvarāja* cannot be taken in the ordinary sense of "prince" we are to suppose that Devavarman was at first selected as heir apparent of Kṛṣṇavarman I in preference to Viṣṇuvarman. This conjecture is possibly supported by the fact that Devavarman is called Kṛṣṇavarman's *priya-tanaya* (dear son) in the Devagiri plates. Note also that Viṣṇuvarman is pointedly called *jyeṣṭha-tanaya* (eldest son) of Kṛṣṇavarman in the Birur grant.

In this connection we like to draw the attention of readers to another statement of Mr. Moraes. Some inscriptions of the Gaṅgas record that the Gaṅga king Koṅgaṇi was born of the beloved sister of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman. "But there are no clues in the records to enable one to ascertain who this Kṛṣṇavarman was, whether he was the first King of that name or his great-grand son" (*Kadambakula*, p. 55). It is however clear from the Gaṅga and Kadamba inscriptions that the maternal uncle of Gaṅga Koṅgaṇi was certainly Kṛṣṇavarman II and not his great-grand father Kṛṣṇavarman I.

[1] It has been recently suggested by a scholar that this Śāntivarman of the Birur grant should be identified with the Pallava King Śāntivarman mentioned in Viṣṇuvarman's Hebbaṭa grant. I shall discuss this important question in a separate paper.

The Gaṅga records describe the Kadamba king who was related to the Gaṅgas as *belonging to the Kadamba family by which the Aśvamedha was performed many times*, but never as *the performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice*. This clearly shows that some predecessor (or predecessors) of Kṛṣṇavarman, the Kadamba relative of the Gaṅgas, must have performed the Horse-sacrifice. There is absolutely no proof that any king of the Kadamba line performed the *Aśvamedha* before the reign of Kṛṣṇavarman I, who alone has been described in the Kadamba grants as a "performer of the Horse-sacrifice."[1] It is evident that this Kṛṣṇavarman I cannot be called as belonging to the *Kadamba family by which many Aśvamedhas were performed*. His great-grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II can however properly be called as belonging to the *Aśvamedha*-performing Kadamba family, as the family (i. e. some king belonging to the family) performed the *Aśvamedha* before his time. There moreover remains no doubt at all when further we notice that Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II has actually been called in his own Bennur grant (*Ep. Carn.* V. p. 594) *Aśvamedha-āvabhṛtha-snāna-pavitrīkṛt-ātmanāṃ Kadambānāṃ ..... dharmamahārāja-vijaya-śiva-kṛṣṇavarmā* exactly in the manner in which the Kadamba relative of the Gaṅgas has been described in the Gaṅga inscriptions.

Dines Chandra Sircar

[1] A very late inscription discovered at Talgunda records that Mayūravarman (i. e. Mayūraśarman the great founder of the Kadamba family) performed eighteen Horse-Sacrifices (*Ep Carn.*, VII, SK., 178). Since there is no mention of this fact in Mayūraśarman's own Candrāvalli record (Mys. Arc S., A-R., 1929, p. 50) or in any other record of the early Kadamba kings, this late tradition must be discarded as entirely unhistorical. See my remark in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 40, note.

REVIEWS

SOME MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURISTS IN ANCIENT INDIA BY RADHARAMAN GANGOPADHYAY Published by N. C. Mukherjee and Co. Serampore.

Some time ago the author wrote a series of articles in journals and news papers on the subject of " Agriculture and Agriculturist in Ancient India " and these are now published in a book form. The subject matter is divided into eight chapters. Chapter II deals with the agricultural land in ancient India, chapter III with the agricultural modes, chapter IV with cattle and cattle-breeding and chapter V with the agriculturists. The other chapters are devoted to general questions connected with Agriculture such as land and famine &c. The account given is based on information collected from authoritative sources. The author must have spent much time and energy in going through all the literature referred to by him. The important literature consulted includes Agnipurāṇa, Arthaśāstra, Bṛhat-Saṁhitā, Kṛṣi-saṁgraha, Ṛgveda Saṁhitā and several others. The author traces in short the history of Agriculture from the Vedic times to this day. He also shows from old literature that land belonged to the people and they paid tax or rent.

The ancient Indians were well versed in the art and industry of agriculture. They understood the relation of climatic conditions to crops, knew how to classify soils, prepare and use manure, select seed and also knew principles of breeding animals. The agriculturists were Vaiśyas and held a very high position in the society.

There is a chapter on famines where the author has shown that in ancient days they had very few famines of the type we understand now. They always had reserves to face famines for two or three years.

This book is the first of its kind and the author deserves praise for the trouble he has taken to bring out very important facts about the condition of Agriculture and the Agriculturist of ancient India.

D. L. Sahasrabuddhe.

THE VYAVAHĀRAMAYŪKHA OF NĪLAKAṆṬHA,

Translated into English, BY P. V. KANE, M. A., L. M. and S. G. PATWARDHAN, B. A., B. Sc., LL.M., price Rs. 10

The Vyavahāramayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha occupies a prominent place among the works on Dharmaśāstra which are recognised as authoritative by the Bombay School of Hindu Law. With respect to the province of Gujerat, the island of Bombay and North Konkan, it has been recognised as the basic and overriding authority in all questions relating to Hindu Law. Moreover it is held in very high respect in Maharashtra particularly in the Poona and Ahmednagar districts of it, and, as laid down by judicial dicta, it has to be referred to in deciding questions on which the Mitākṣarā, which is the paramount authority in these parts, is silent.

An authoritative exposition of Mayūkha was a long-felt want, and it was to some extent met by the edition in original Sanskrit published in 1926 by the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, with the author's Introduction and Notes. The task so undertaken has now been completed by the author by bringing out an English translation of the text of Mayūkha, which, we are glad to note, has been made complete in every respect.

It is true that some notable attempts, previous to the present one by Mr. Kane, were made to render in English the text of Mayūkha, but every one of them suffered from some defect or other which prevented it from being completely useful for the purpose for which the Mayūkha is required to be studied or referred to. Mr. Kane's translation has however the unique merit of being free from any such defects. Moreover it is not a bare translation of Mayūkha that the author has given. It is accompanied by an introduction which gives a sketch of the life of Nīlakaṇṭha and describes his contribution to Sanskrit literature on Dharmaśāstra. We miss here a connected statement and a critical appreciation of the main juristic ideas of Nīlakaṇṭha, which, we suggest, should be made good either in this place or by

adding a separate chapter to the book when the second edition comes to be issued. The copious notes that are appended to the translation bear testimony to the author's scholarly acquaintance with Sanskrit, his deep study of Dharmaśāstra, mastery over case law and, above all, the soundness and originality of his views as evidenced by the learned criticisms that he has offered in commenting upon the judicial decisions bearing on certain texts of Mayūkha. In the notes there is also a lucid and masterly exposition of the Mīmāṁsā Rules of Interpretation in so far as they have a bearing on the text of Mayūkha. The General Index which is remarkably full, and similar other features have added to the utility of the book. The author has thus spared no pains to make his translation complete in itself and useful from every point of view. It will be used as a valuable supplement to the author's Sanskrit edition of Mayūkha, by higher students of Hindu Dharmaśāstra and Culture. The practical importance of Mr. Kane's translation lies however in the great help that it may give to the lawyer in constructing his arguments on complicated questions of Hinu Law, and to the judge in fortifying his judgements on such questions with appropriate textual authority whenever he is called upon to decide them. It is hence bound to be acclaimed as a great boon by the Bench and the Bar.

There is no doubt that this translation of Mayūkha published by Mr. Kane in collaboration with his young colleague Prof. S. G. Patwardhan, will greatly add to his reputation as a great Sanskritist, sound jurist and profound exponent of Hindu Law and Culture. His work is bound to occupy a prominent place in the English literature on Hindu Dharamaśāstra and Oriental Learning. He has, by his labours, laid the learned public under a deep debt of gratitude to him, and we hope that they will not be wanting in extending their generous support to his present publication.

S. M. Datar

JURISTIC PERSONALITY OF HINDU DEITIES BY S. C. BAGCHI, LL. D., Principal, University Law College, Calcutta, published by the University of Calcutta (1933)

This short book embodies the Asutosh Mookerjee Lectures of 1931 delivered by Dr. Bagchi. The main question that is discussed in these lectures relates to the Juristic Personality of Hindu Deities. Observations made in judicial decisions like the one in Vidya Tirtha Swami v. Vidyanidhi Tirtha Swami, I. L. R. 27 Mad. 457 (see p. 58), have led to the supposition that a Hindu Deity is a juristic person in the full sense of the term. This position according to Dr. Bagchi, is open to serious doubt (see page 58). In the case of Bhupati-v. Ramlal 10 C. L. J. 305, the judges among whom the late sir Asutosh Mookerjee was prominent, expressed a different opinion and held that the judicial construct applicable to a corporation sole, cannot apply to a deity in Hindu Law. Dr. Bagchi maintains that this latter position indicates the correct notion about the juristic character of a Hindu deity. According to him an idol cannot be a juristic person in the full sense of the term.

In order to enable the reader to understand and appreciate this position Dr. Bagchi has critically examined in Lecture II the various theories about the nature of juristic personality. He ends his analysis by accepting the realistic theory of Gierke, accord ng to which juristic personality means a right-and-duty-bearing entity. The test of a juristic person is its capacity in law to be the owner of rights and the bearer of duties and obligations. The author has then examined in his third lecture the position of Hindu deities in the light of this test. He has shown by citing several authorities from the Vedas, the Smrtis and the commentators, that a deity cannot as such become the owner of rights, or be made subject to obligations. The association of an idol with charitable and religious endowments is, so far as law is concerned, in the nature of a superfluous adjunct, in as much as the real benefit and responsibilities arising out of such endowments attached to the shebaits or managers of such institutions. The author has also examined judicial decisions like those referred to above and concluded by saying " The deity, despite his spiritual

potency, is judicially impotent. Religious endowments can be assimilated to purpose trusts; the idol is there, for religion demands its presence. But the law courts "will none of it." (see p. 78).

The point raised by these lectures is one on which no definite pronouncement can yet be made. So far as the discussion that is given in this book is concerned, it must be admitted to be full, clear, and convincing as to the position that is propounded, and it discloses a remarkable mastery over juristic theories and principles. We have no doubt that Dr. Bagchi's book will meet with a generous response from those who are interested in the deeper study of Hindu Law and of comparative Jurisprudence.

S. M. Datar

HINDU LAW, FOURTH EDITION 1931, BY J. R. GHARPURE, B. A., LL. B. (HONS.) Principal, Law College, Poona.

The first edition of this book was published in 1905 to meet primarily the needs of law students. In the preface to that edition the author expressed the hope that he would feel more than gratified if his attempts were to serve men in higher circles. It is gratifying to note that this hope of the author has been more than fulfilled in the course of the subsequent editions. Principal Gharpure's book has unquestionably won for itself a place of classical importance in the text books on Hindu Law that are recognized as authoritative by the Bench and the Bar. The present edition embodies the results of the author's life-long study of Hindu Law and of his wide professional and teaching experience. It is thus bound to command the attention and respect of the student, the lawyer and the judge, for the use of whom it is mainly intended.

The several topics of Hindu Law in relation to its sources, the Laws of Status, Property and Succession have been fully and critically explained in the light of the original Sanskrit texts from

the Vedas, the Smṛtis and the Nibandhas. Judicial decisions have been noted up to date and their bearing on the developement of the law has been pointed out with helpful criticisms and suggestions. The aim kept in view throughout the discussions is to cultivate in the mind of the reader the habit of deep study and wide reading. Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence and culture have been emphasised in their proper places. The appendices contain, among other matters, a lucid exposition of the Mīmānsā principles of interpretation and of the theory of Sapiṇḍaship in relation to marriage and succession, which post graduate students of Hindu Law will find very useful for their purposes. Principal Gharpure's Hindu Law has thus the unique merit of satisfying the requirements of the student world, the legal profession, the judiciary and even of the general reader interested in the Hindu Jurisprudence and culture. We heartily congratulate him for having placed within the easy reach of all such persons a text book on Hindu Law admirably suited for their respective purposes.

S. M. Dater

THE NAISADHA-CARITA OF ŚRĪHARSA :— (Cantos I-XXII) for the first time translated into English with Critical Notes and Extracts from unpublished commentaries, Appendices and a vocabulary by K. K. Handiqui, M. A. (Oxon), Principal, Jorhat College, Jorhat (Assam)—Punjab Oriental Series No. 23—pub. by Motilal Banarasidas, Lahore, 1934; pp. 611; price Rs. 12/-

Principal Handiqui and his enterprising Publishers have laid all students of Sanskrit literature under a deep obligation by this translation of the Naiṣadha-carita together with much critical material about some of the unpublished and valuable commentaries, not to say of other useful features of this volume such as the learned notes on the conflict of duty and love in the Naiṣadha-carita, the philosophical and other allusions in the poem and last but not least the vocabulary with illustrative extracts covering no less than 80 pages. In the years to come this learned volume is bound to stimulate more critical appreciation of Śrīharṣa's poem as the critical student gets here for the first time a complete translation of the entire work with a wealth of critical and historical material about Śrīharṣa and his Commentators.

Though we cannot be all praise for Śrīharṣa's artificial style the fact remains as rightly pointed out by the learned editor that the Naiṣadha " is in many ways a repository of traditional learning and contains literary lexicographical and socio-religious data important for the study of the cultural history of mediaeval India ". Scholars interested in Vedic studies may be gratified to learn the fact pointed out by Prin. Handiqui (p. III of Introduction) that Caṇḍū is described in some of the colophons of his comm. as the author of a commentary on the Ṛgveda and further that a specimen of this commentary is found in his gloss on Naiṣadha 9. 75 in the course of which an entire hymn of the Ṛgveda (10. 51) is quoted and explained. As no Ms. of this commentary has yet been known Prin. Handiqui's find is all the more important as it makes us aware of the existence of this commentary and may help scholars to trace it among some of the unexplored family collections of Mss in different parts of India.

It is no mean task to translate a portentous poem like the Naiṣadha which is rightly looked upon as 'auṣadha' for the Sanskrit student. A translator who translates a terse poem like the present one for the first time is always at a disadvantage but he must feel satisfied for his loving labour by the fact that he is pioneer in the line and is bound to be remembered gratefully by all further entrants in the field of critical study of this classic poem, which is one of the five Mahākāvyas. Principal Handiqui has tried his best to make his translation readable even to a layman who cares to acquaint himself with this epic dealing with the story of Nala and Damayantī.

Śrīharṣa, the poet, was a philosopher as well, being the author of the abstruse Vedāntic treatise the Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya. His was an age in which 'life in literature' was felt and 'law in taste' was being formulated by the rhetoricians. Under such circumstances it is natural that didactic disquisitions should occasionally predominate and freeze the genial current of the soul of poetry. In spite of these inherent defects the ornate style of Śrīharṣa will have its proud place in Sanskrit literature and hence needs to be studied with all its characteristics. The present translation will facilitate such studies by students of Sanskrit literary criticism, who otherwise have no patience to stride through the mist of 'obscure learning' and the array of 'artificial fancies and conceits.' We strongly hope that Principal Handiqui will bring forth many such useful volumes pertaining to other important texts and thus enrich Indian culture and scholarship by the fruits of his patient study and critical research.

P. K. Gode

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A NOTE ON THE TEXT OF KRSNA-KARNĀMRTA

BY

DR. S. K. DE

The *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* (KK) ascribed to Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala appears to exist in two recensions. The Śrī-Vāṇī-Vilāsa Press edition (SVVP), with the *Suvarṇa-caṣaka* (SC) commentary of Pāpayallaya Sūri, of the work, published from Śrīraṅgam (no date) in Devanāgarī character and apparently based upon South Indian manuscripts, presents the text in three sections called Āśvāsas, consisting respectively of 107, 110 and 102 verses. But the Rādhāramaṇ Press edition (RP), with the *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* (SR) commentary of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, published from Murshidabad in Bengali character in 1916 and based entirely on Bengal manuscripts, gives us only 112 verses, corresponding (with certain omissions and additions) to the first Āśvāsa of the SVVP edition, and entirely omits the second and third Āśvāsas. Winternitz[1] speaks only of one Śataka of the work, consisting of 110 verses, but his authority for this definite statement is not known.

Most of the notices of the KK in the different catalogues of South Indian manuscripts agree in giving the text in three sections, although there is no agreement with regard to the number of verses assigned to each section. Thus, in Seshagiri Sastri's

[1] *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, iii, p. 124.

Report,[1] the Ms of the work (with SC) noticed consists of three sections, of which the first contains 106 verses, the second 108, the number of verses in the third section not being given in the notice. Similarly, of the fifteen Mss of KK noticed in the Madras Government Oriental Library Catalogue,[2] six contain the SC, but almost all (where the Ms in question is complete) give three sections of the text, although the catalogue omits all mention of the number of verses in each section in the different Mss. In Eggeling's catalogue of India Office Mss again,[3] we have two Mss of the work, one in Telugu and the other in Devanāgarī character, which give also the SC commentary. The first contains only the second and third sections giving respectively 110 and 106 verses, while the second Ms gives the number of verses in the three sections as 111, 110 and 106 respectively. There are three other Devanāgarī Mss of the work in the India Office collection,[4] which are without any commentary, but which also present the text in three sections. The number of verses in these Mss are as follows: (i) no. 3900/1605c. I—113, II—111, III—108. (ii) no. 3901/1994. I—105 (but the colophon speaks of 112 verses), II—105 (but the colophon speaks of 113 verses), III—89. (iii) I—106 (107-112 are also given but marked in the margin as omitted purposely by the copyist), II—109, III—67.[5]

Of the West Indian Mss of this work no detailed information is available regarding the number of section and verses in the

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1 *Report on a Search for Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts*, Pt. II, Madras 1899, pp. 202 f and p. 58.

2 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, vol. xviii (Stotras), Madras 1915, pp. 6943–6948, nos. 9885–9899, in Telugu, Nandināgarī and Grantha characters.

3 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Library of the India Office*, pt. vii, London 1904, pp. 1472–73, nos. 3905/2577 and 3904/1293.

4 Eggeling, *op. cit.* vii, p. 1471, nos. 3900/1605 c, 3901/1994 and 3902/74.

5 Burnell's *Classified Index to Sanskrit Mss in the Palace Library at Tanjore* (Part iii, London 1880, p. 164 a) mentions a copy of KK without giving the number of sections or verses; but the new catalogue of the same collection published by P. P. S. Sastri (vols. VI–VII, Kāvya, Śrīrangam 1929–30) omits all mention of the work. Oppert's *Lists* of South Indian Mss are of no practical value in this connexion.

reports of Bühler[1], R. G. Bhandarkar[2], Peterson[3], and Kielhorn[4] as well as in R. L. Mitra's Bikaner Catalogue.[5] But one Ms of KK written in Devanāgarī character and belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society[6] appears to consist of three sections, having 105, 105 and 89 verses respectively. Of the Bhandarkar Institute Mss of the text, which we have examined, there is one in Devanāgarī script (no. 627 of 1883–84) which contains three sections having 112, 108 and 112 verses respectively. There is also another Devanāgarī Ms which calls itself KK (no.628 of 1883–84), but the contents and arrangement of which are not the same as in the printed text. It is really a conflated collection of devotional verses which includes a total of 410 Ślokas. Although it is divided into four sections of separately numbered verses, the first three of which contain 100 verses each and the last 110, the sections are not marked by colophons, excepting a final colophon which, however, speaks of the end of the third Śataka.

In the Bengal Mss, on the other hand, the tradition appears to be uniform regarding the existence of the text in one section only, viz. the first. In Aufrecht's Bodleian Ms[7] no. 230 in Bengali character which gives anonymously the SR commentary, and no. 231, which gives anonymously the *Subodhinī* commentary of

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1 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Private Libraries of Gujrat, Kathiawad, Kachch, Sindh and Khandes*, Bombay 1871, ii, pp. 74 and 78.

2 *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss etc., 1882-83*, p. 302, nos. 627–628; *Report etc. 1884-1887*, p. 49, no. 430; *Report etc. 1887-1891*, p. 35, nos. 491–492.

3 *Fifth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Mss in the Bombay Circle* (Bombay 1896), p. 253, no 334.

4 *Classified Alphabetical Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Central Provinces*, Nagpur 1874, p. 66. But the total number of verses given here as commented by SC is 950, which is strange, as equally strange is the number of 1,188 ślokas given with reference to SR commentary in H. P. Sastri, *Notices*, 2nd Series, i, p. 71, no 75.

5 *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner* (Calcutta 1880), p. 573, no. 241. It is curious that Rajendra Lal Mitra should speak of Bilvamaṅgala as one of the followers of Caitanya!

6 H. D. Velankar, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Saṅskṛta and Prākṛta Mss in the Bombay Branch of the RAS*, vol. II, p. 334, no. 1177.

7 *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (Oxford 1864), p. 128.

Caitanyadāsa[1], we have the text in one section only.[2] Of the two India Office Mss of text in Bengali character noticed by Eggeling[3], the first is without any commentary and the second includes SR. The verse-number of the second Ms is not given in Eggeling's notice, but the first is said to contain 112 verses in one section. There are also three Mss in the Bhandarkar Institute, two of which (no. 566 of Viśrām i, and no. 334 of 1892-95) are in Devanāgarī and one in Bengali script (no. 477 of 1891-95). They present the work in one section only containing 112 verses and agree generally with the Bengali printed text. These indications are confirmed by five Mss of KK in the Dacca University collection[4] which we had the opportunity of examining. They are all Bengal Mss written in Bengali character, one of them (no. 2464) containing the *Subodhinī* of Caitanyadāsa and the remaining four giving the more popular SR of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. In all of them the text consists of 112 verses in one section (the first) only, as given in the printed Bengal edition referred to above.

It is clear that most of the Bengal Mss as well as the printed Bengal edition agree in giving definitely one section, viz. the first, with 112 verses; but there is no agreement in the respective number of verses in the so-called three Śatakas or Āśvāsas of the South Indian Mss and printed edition.

A comparison of the Bengal text in the printed edition with first Āśvāsa of the South Indian text in the printed edition reveals the fact that, barring inevitable differences of reading, they substantially agree, even if there are certain additions and one

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1 This is apparently the same commentary as entered in R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report 1884-1887*, no. 326, where however the name Caitanyadāsa is confused with the more well known name Caitanyadeva See below.

2 R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss* (ix, p. 63, no. 2955) registers a Bengal commentary, which the colophon ascribes to Vṛndāvanadāsa; but Vṛndāvanadāsa, apparently the same as the author of the Bengali *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, is not known to have written a commentary on KK, and the opening and closing verses of the Ms show that it is really identical with SR commentary of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. It consists apparently of one section, but the number of Ślokas is given as 1, 228!

3 *Op. cit.* pp. 1472-73, nos. 3903/1177 and 3906/823d.

4 Nos. 2358, 2415, 2454, 2464, and 3325 in the library list.

alteration in the respective order of verses. The following table will show these correspondences and differences, the figures indicating the numbering of the verses in the two texts :

Verses in the Bengal Text	*Verses in the South Indian Text*
1 - 37	identical : 1 - 37
38 (randhrād upaiti)	omitted, but another verse missing in Bengal text (yāvan na me nara-daśā) supplied in its place : 38
39 - 56	identical : 39 - 56
57 (mauliś candraka-bhūṣaṇo°)	omitted
58 - 66	identical : 57 - 65
67 - 68	occur as 67, 66
69 - 90	identical : 68 - 89
91 (kāntā-kuca-grahaṇa°)	omitted
92 - 97	identical : 90 - 95
98 (śuśrusase śṛnu yadi)	omitted
99 - 101	identical : 96 - 98
102 (bhuvanaṃ bhavanam)	omitted
103 (devas trilokī °)	omitted
104 - 112	identical : 99 - 107

It is remarkable that both the recensions contain more than 100 verses in the first section. If the designation Śataka given by Pāpayallaya Sūri [1] is meant to indicate the definite number of one hundred verses, then one must hold that the work shared the same fate of interpolation as the earlier Śatakas of Amaru and Bhartṛhari. But in the SVVP edition the sections are called Āśvāsas, [2] while in some of the Mss of the Madras Government

[1] *atra prathama-śatake ādita ārabhya keṣucic chlokeṣu mama manaḥ kṛṣṇa eva pravartatāṃ nānyatreti prārthanā* (Extract in Seshagiri Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 202; the colophon to the Ms also calls each section 'Śataka'). This extract is missing in the printed text in SVVP edition, which altogether omits also the preliminary verses to the commentary; the passage is also missing in Eggeling's extract from the commentary on p. 1472 (no. 3904/1293) in the work already cited.

[2] But the colophons in the printed text call the first and second sections Adhyāya, and the last Āśvāsa.

Oriental Library the designation Adhyāya is given. We cannot, therefore, be really certain that each of the sections contained the exact number of one hundred verses. But from the comparative analysis of the two sections given above we can infer that with regard to the first section of the work, leaving aside minor *variae lectiones* and the question of the genuineness of a few additions and alteration of verse-sequence, both the recensions show striking agreement with respect to at least 106 verses.

But the textual problem becomes more difficult when we come to the second and third Āśvāsas found in the South Indian recension. The Bengal tradition appears to know nothing of these two Āśvāsas, and it uniformly presents only the first section of 112 verses as the genuine text of KK.

The Bengal tradition appears to have originated from the time of Caitanya (1485-1533 A. D.) who is reported to have discovered and brought the KK from his pilgrimage in Southern and Western India and introduced it to his followers; and from his time it became one of the sources of the religious inspiration of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Caitanya is said to have been so struck by its high devotional value that he not only commended it in superlative terms to his disciples but it also became one of the mainsprings of his own erotico-religious experiences.[1] It certainly exercised, along with Jayadeva's poem, a great influence on the emotionalism of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava faith. It inspired similar lyrics and was quoted as authoritative in the treatises on Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra composed by Rūpa Gosvāmin[2] and others. Several commentaries came to be written on it by the Bengal Vaiṣṇava sect explaining its esoteric religious significance. Of these commentaries the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, an immediate disciple of Caitanya, appears to be the earliest; but in the same century, another Bengal Vaiṣṇava, Caityanyadāsa, who appears to have been in charge of the Govinda temple at Vṛndā-

[1] The story is told in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Bengali *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Madhya i, 120; ii, 77; ix, 304-309; Antya xv, 27.

[2] Eggeling (*op. cit.*, p. 1475) is not correct in stating that Bilvamaṅgala's verses cited in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* cannot be traced in KK. As a matter of fact Rūpa quotes from KK as well as from other works of Bilvamaṅgala. See below.

vana,[1] wrote another commentary entitled *Subodhinī*. A little later Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who eulogises the poem enthusiastically[2] in his standard Bengali work on Caitanya's life and career, composed the more popular and elaborate *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* which is printed in the Bengal edition of the text mentioned above.

It would thus appear that the tradition regarding KK obtaining in Bengal from the begninning of the 16th century is not altogether negligible. The date of Pāpayallaya Sūri, on the other hand, is not known, but he could not have been a very early writer. As he refers to the well known commentator Mallinātha, who flourished in the 14th century, he must have lived after that date. But if he had flourished in the 15th century and if at that time the text of KK was known in three sections as he presents it, it is not likely that Caitanya would have brought back to Bengal the tradition of only one section of the work on which his immediate disciples and followers wrote commentaries. It would be therefore reasonable to assume that the two other sections, apparently unkown to him but known to Pāpayallaya Sūri and to comparatively recent South Indian and Western Mss, arose at a somewhat later date. Having regard to the first section, again, it cannot indeed be maintained that either recension of the first section was entirely free from interpolation, but it is certainly remarkable that the tradition of the Bengal Mss, as well

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[1] This Caitanyadāsa was one of the Vaiṣṇavas of Vṛndāvana at whose command Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja wrote his biography of Caitanya (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Ādi viii, 69). He is sometimes identified with Caitanyadāsa-Sena, son of Śivānanda-Sena and brother of Parmānandadāsa-Sena Kavikarṇapūra. A good Ms of the *Subodhinī* exists in the Dacca University collection (no 2464). In the concluding verse there is a reference to Caitanyadāsa's being a worshipper of the image of Govinda :

śrī-govinda-pada-sevā-prabhāvād uditā svayam ।
ṭīkā caitanyadāsasya kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛtāśrayā ॥

Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to have made use of this commentary in SR. A Ms of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* exists in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which an edition has been undertaken by the present writer.

[2] *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya ix, 307–8 :

कर्णामृतसम वस्तु नाहि त्रिभुवने । याहा हइते हय कृष्णप्रेमरसज्ञाने ॥
सौन्दर्य माधुर्य कृष्णलीलार अवधि । से जाने ये कर्णामृत पडे निरवधि ॥

as of the three Bengal commentaries of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Caitanya-dāsa and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, is not only uniform with regard to the presentation of the text in this section only, but is also positive with regard to the exact number of 112 verses in this section. But this cannot be said of this South Indian Mss which no doubt accept two other sections but the tradition of which is uncertain with regard to the number of verses in the three sections they include.

Another circumstance raises a legitimate doubt regarding the genuineness of the second and third sections of the poem included in Pāpayallaya Sūri's Southern version of the text. Rūpa Gosvāmin, who was a contemporary and disciple of Caitanya and flourished towards the end of 15th and the first half of the 16th century, compiled a Sanskrit anthology, entitled *Padyāvalī*, of Kṛṣṇaite devotional verses. In the concluding verse of this work he tells us that in compiling his anthology he had deliberately refrained from including the verses of Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala.[1] The reason for this exclusion is not known, but it might have been due to the fact that the poems of Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala, as we know from the report of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja,[2] were already too well known. That Rūpa Gosvāmin has strictly fulfilled his undertaking is obvious from the fact that in his anthology not a single verse occurs which can be traced to the first section of the KK (in either recension) which alone was apparently known to him as genuine. On the other hand, some of the verses occurring in Pāpayallaya Sūri's second and third sections are given in Rūpa Gosvāmin's anthology, not with Bilvamaṅgala's name but ascribed to different authors or cited anonymously. We give below the verses that are common, with

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1 *jayadeva-bilvamaṅgala-pramukhaiḥ kṛtā ye'tra santi sandarbhāḥ |*
teṣāṃ padyāni vinā samāhṛtānītarāṇyatra ||

2 Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya ii, 77, Antya xv, 27) that Caitanya, in company with his chosen disciples, made constant devotional use of *Karṇāmṛta* and *Gīta-govinda*, among other works, and took delight in listening to them day and night. It thus became a well known and honoured work among Caitanyaite Vaiṣṇavas.

references also to other anthologies or works in which some of them occur: [1]

Pāpayallaya Sūri's Text *Second Āśvāsa*	*Padyāvalī*
(a) ii, 59 (śambhoḥ svāgatam)	No. 146 (Mayūrasya) [SKM i, 53, 1 (Mayūrasya)]
(b) ii, 63 (kiṃcit kuñcita-locanasya)	No. 130 (Maṅgalasya) [ŚP 115 (Bilvamaṅgala-śrīcaraṇānām) = Sbhv 37 (Kasyāpi)]
(c) ii, 70 (ete lakṣmaṇa jānakī-virahiṇam)	No. 252 (Śubhāṅkasya) [SKM i, 53, 3 (Śubhāṅkasya) = Hemacandra p. 90 (anon.)]
(d) ii, 72 (rāmo nāma babhūva)	No. 150 (Kasyacit) [ŚP 120 (Vasundharasya) = SML ii, 91 (Vasundharasya) = Rasārṇava-sudhākara, p. 115 (anon.)]
(e) ii, 102 (aṃsālambita-vāma-kuṇḍala-dharam)	No. 47 (Kasyacit) [SRBh, p. 28, no. 182 (anon.)]
(f) ii, 107 (saṃdhyā-vandana bhadram astu)	No. 79 (Śrī-Mādhavendra-purī-pādānām) [SRBh, p. 387, no. 108 (anon.)]

[1] The following abbreviations are employed: ŚP=Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, ed. Peterson, Bombay 1888; Sbhv = Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva, ed. Peterson, Bombay 1886; SKM = Sadukti-karṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa, ed. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā and Haradatta Śarmā, Lahore 1933; SML = Sūkti-muktāvalī of Jahlaṇa, ed. Gaekwad's Oriental Series (not yet published, but an advanced file of the printed text consulted by the present writer through the courtesy of the Editor of the Series); Hemacandra = H's Kāvyānuśāsana, ed. Kāvyamālā 70, Bombay 1901; Rasārṇava-sudhākara of Siṅgabhūpāla ed. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 50, Trivandrum 1916; SRBh= Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra, ed. Parab and Pansikar, Bombay 1911; Hari-bhakti-vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa, ed. Murshidabad 1891 (in two volumes). The numbering of the verses in *Padyāvalī* in our citation here follows the present writer's edition of the work (Dacca 1934), but there will be no difficulty in finding the verses in question in the Murshidabad edition of that text (printed at Rādhāramaṇ Press, Berhampur, Bengal, 1912).

(g)	ii, 108 (he gopālaka)	No. 36 (Śrīvaiṣṇavasya)
	Third Āśvasa	
(h)	iii, 82 (phullendīvara-kānta°)	No. 40 (Sāradākārasya) [cited anonymously in Hari-bhakti-vilāsa i, p. 90)]
(i)	iii, 84 (dadhi-mathana-ninādaiḥ)	No. 142 (Kasyacit)
(j)	iii, 95 (tamasi ravir ivodyan)	No. 51 (Śrīmad-Vyāsa-pādānām)
(k)	iii, 102 (yā prītir vidurārpite)	No. 117 (Kāsyacit)

It will be seen from the references noted above to other works and anthologies that some of the verses in question are found quoted with other names; but, with one exception, none of them have been ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala. The one exception refers to item (b) above, which ŚP assigns to Bilvamaṅgala directly. But the fact that the same verse is cited anonymously in Sbhv and is assigned in the *Padyāvalī* to Maṅgala makes the ascription a matter of uncertain value; and it is possible that the ascription in ŚP may have arisen from a natural confusion of the names Bilvamaṅgala and Maṅgala. It is interesting to note in this connexion that of three other verses (nos. 72, 73 and 130) assigned to Bilvamaṅgala in ŚP, the only one (72) that is traceable in KK occurs in the second Āśvāsa (ii, 28).

Not much reliance need be placed upon the testimony of ascriptions in the anthologies, which have not always been found very correct, but the case of *Padyāvalī* with reference to the verses of Bilvamaṅgala stands on a somewhat different footing. Rūpa Gosvāmin makes a distinct statement that he is studiously avoiding citations of Bilvamaṅgala's verses. Not a single verse is cited by him which occurs in the first section; but certain verses cited by him under other names or anonymously are found in the second and third Āśvāsas of Eāpayallaya Sūri's South Indian version. This undoubtedly indicates that Rūpa Gosv-

min, following the Bengal tradition, took the first section as genuine, but it also raises a suspicion that the second and third Āśvāsas of the Southern recension may have been put together at some later time, partly with Bilvamaṅgala's verses drawn from his other works (which, if ŚP's attribution is accepted, indicates) and partly with verses from other writers.

That Rūpa Gosvāmin knew only the first section of KK and did not accept the other sections as parts of the poem is also confirmed by the way in which he cites Bilvamaṅgala and his works in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*. In the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* (ed. Murshidabad 1924) there are six quotations with the direct superscription *yathā karṇāmṛte*. These are *ānamrānasita*° (p. 202), *mādhuryād api madhuram* (p. 203), *akhaṇḍa-nirvāṇa-rasa*° (p. 379), *amūnyadhanyāni* (p. 670), *nibaddha-mūrdhāñjali*° (p. 671), *tvacchaiśavam* (p. 674). With the exception of the first verse which cannot be traced, all these verses occur in the first section of KK respectively as : SVVP 1,64 (= RP i, 65) i, 96 (= i, 99), i, 41, i, 30 and i, 32. But in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* Rūpa Gosvāmin also cites some other verses with *yathā bilvamaṅgale* or with *yathā bilvamaṅgala-stave*. These are :

Bilvamaṅgala :

P. 296 *cintāmaṇiś caraṇa*°

P. 386 *ayi paṅkaja-netra*°

P. 456 *hastam utkṣipya yāto'si* = KK iii, 94

P. 472 *rādhā punātu* = KK ii, 25

Bilvamaṅgala- stava :

P. 626 *advaita-vīthi-pathikair*

None of these verses occur in the first section of KK, but two of them, as noted above, are found respectively in the second and third sections of the poem. Eggeling notes (*op. cit.* p. 1475) that four of these verses occur in the *Sumaṅgala-Stotra* (see below) ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala. In the *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* (ed. Kāvyamālā 95, Bombay 1913), again, Rūpa Gosvāmin cites only one verse (p. 493, *stoka-stoka-niruddhyamāna*°) with *yathā karṇāmṛte*, and this verse occurs in the first section as verse no. 21. There are three other quotations with *yathā bilvamaṅgale* :

P. 277 *rādhe'parādhena vinaiva*
P. 285 *ayi murali mukunda°* = KK ii, 11.
P. 435 *rādhā-mohana-mandirāt*

None of these verses can be traced in the first section of KK; and only one, as noted above, is found in the second section.

A reference to the anthologies also reveals further interesting facts. The SKM, which was compiled in Bengal 1205 A. D., does not cite Bilvamaṅgala at all; a fact which probably confirms the story of Caitanya's discovery of the work in the South and his introduction into Bengal. Nor does Sbhv and SML quote Bilvamaṅgala. On the other hand, some verses occurring in the second and third Āśvāsas of the Southern recension are ascribed to other authors or cited anonymously. Apart from the instances given above, we may further refer to KK ii, 65 (*kṛṣṇenāmba gatena rantum adhunā*) which is cited anonymously in ŚP 4016 (kasyacit), SKM i, 51, 1 (kasyacit) and Sbhv 40 (keṣām api). It is also significant that KK iii, 82 [item (h) above] which is assigned to Sāradākāra in *Padyāvalī* is cited anonymously by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was a Vaiṣṇava who came from Southern India; yet the authorship of this verse from the third section of KK seems to have been unknown to him.

All these considerations make it very doubtful whether the second and third Āśvāsas given in the South Indian recension originally belonged to the poem itself. These two sections are unknown as a part of the poem to the Bengal tradition. One cannot be absolutely sure about the question of genuineness or interpolation in a mediaeval Sanskrit text; but it seems probable that in Bengal, where the work was studied at a distance from its reputed place of origin and where it acquired a certain sanctity, the tradition of the text was better preserved and less modified. It is undoubted that verses of other authors, some known and some unknown, went into the making of the last two sections and swelled their bulk; but it is possible that these two sections prevailing in Southern India were not mere imitative supplements deliberately composed in their entirety by some later authors and tacked on to the original first section. Their nucleus

might have been drawn from verses occurring in other stotra-like works of Bilvamaṅgala; and around this might have been woven verses of less known writers which, with their authorship forgotten, came to be confused with the genuine verses of Bilvamaṅgala.

On this point, however, it is difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion without examining in detail other works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala. Of such other works the informations are too vague or meagre in the different catalogues of Mss in which they are noticed, and few of them are accessible or available in print. Thus, Peterson[1] and Bühler[2] mention respectively two works entitled *Kṛṣṇa-bāla-caritra* and *Bāla-kṛṣṇa-krīḍā-kāvya*, ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala, of which, except the fact that the Mss are of fairly recent date, no information is available. R. L. Mitra in the different volumes of his *Notices* registers several works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala, e. g. *Govinda-Stotra*,[3] *Bilvamaṅgala-Stotra*[4] and *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī*,[5] but as the works themselves are not available, any investigation in the direction indicated above is hardly possible.

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1 *Third Report etc.*, Bombay and London 1887, p. 394, no. 292.

2 Bühler, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 92.

3 *Notices*, vi. pp. 297-298, no. 2234 (75 verses). This appears to be the same work as Ms no. 84 noticed in Aufrecht's *Florentine Sanskrit Mss*, Leipzig 1892, p. 29, although the latter work is entitled *Govinda-dāmodara-stotra* and consists of 57 instead of 75 verses. The *Govindaikaviṃśatikā* (R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report etc. 1887-91*, p. 28, no. 396) may or may not be the same work.

4 *Notices*, iii, p. 171, no. 1198 (281 verses). In *Notices* vii, p. 88, no. 2316, the *Bilvamaṅgala-ṭīkā* appears to be a commentary on this work. The British Museum Mss nos. 241 and 242 (Bendall, *Catalogue*, p. 92 ; see below) may be versions of this work, for the opening verse in both these Mss agrees with the opening verse of Mitra's Ms, although the concluding verse in each case is different. The difficulty of identifying these Mss arises from the fact that Mitra in his *Notices* supplies us with very little data, and in the extracts he quotes he gives only the first and the last verse, which are not enough. The identity of the opening verse of KK and the *Sumaṅgala-stotra* shows that the Maṅgala-śloka in the different works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala could have been the same.

5 *Notices*, ix p. 60 ; no. 2951. This is a poem in the Mālinī metre describing one whole day's amatory career of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, beginning from early dawn and ending in Rāsa-līlā at night. Winternitz and Keith (*Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Bodleian Library*, vol II, Oxford 1905, p. 115, no. 1095/1) notices a fragment of Bilvamaṅgala which appears similar to Eggeling's *Sumaṅgala-Stotra* (*op. cit.* vii, p. 1474) described below.

But Eggeling notices two other works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala, and his examination appears to support our position regarding the composition of the later Āśvāsas of KK. The first work is a Ms of *Sumaṅgala-Stotra* (SS) by Bilvamaṅgala in Devanāgarī character, with the *Bhakta-vallabhā* commentary of Vanamālin.[1] This extensive poem, consisting of 383 verses, is of the same character as KK ; but it is interesting to note that it has much of its matter in common with KK ii and iii, with which it seems to be actually identified by the commentary. It is arranged according to topics in a totally different way, but Eggeling notes that a large number of its verses actually occur in the second and third sections of KK. Only one of its verses, viz. the first Maṅgala-śloka, is found to be common with the first Maṅgala-śloka of the first section of KK. But with reference to the second and third sections we have : SS verse 2=KK ii, 6 ; 5=ii, 55 ; 8=iii, 65 ; 13=ii, 54 ; 17=ii, 76 ; 21=ii, 69 ; 23=ii, 98 ; 24=ii, 82 ; 25=ii, 15 ; 199=iii, 29 ; 200=iii, 80. The second work noticed by Eggeling[2] is entitled *Kṛṣṇa-Stotra* (KS), also ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala, and consists of 109 verses. The second and third sections of KK, again, appear to have much in common with this work, as well as with the *Sumaṅgala-Stotra*. Thus, KK ii, 4=KS, 109=SS 2 ; KK ii, 55=KS 5=SS 5 ; KK iii, 54=KS 87=SS 13. In the same way, the British Museum Ms of the *Bilvamaṅgala-Stotra*, noticed by Bendall [3] appears to have a verse (no. 119, *veṇī-mūle viracita°*, cited in the extracts quoted) which occurs as KK ii, 7.

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1 Eggeling, *Op. cit.*, vii, p. 1474., no. 3907/564.

2 *Op. cit.* p. 1475.

3 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the British Museum*, London 1902, p. 32, no. 241 (Add. 14, 769b); 119 verses. This work appears to be a version of the same work as no. 1198 (*Bilvamaṅgala-Stotra*) of R. L. Mitra's *Notices*, iii, p. 171, although there is a discrepancy as to the respective number of verses included. There is also another work, no. 242 (Or. 2131a), attributed to Bilvamaṅgala, consisting of 207 verses, which is probably a different work, although the opening verse and three other verses are common. The work wrongly entered as *Karṇāmṛta* by Bilvamaṅgala in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Calcutta Sarskrit College Library* (Kāvya, no. 170, pp. 114-15) is, as the extracts quoted indicate, identical with this *Bilvamaṅgala-Stotra*.

We did not have access to the *Kṛṣṇa-Stotra* which, Eggeling informs us, was printed at Calcutta in 1817 ; but we have seen another similar work, entitled *Bilvamaṅgala nāma Koṣa-kāvyam*, printed in Bengali character with a Bengali translation at Rādhāramaṇ Press, Berhampur (Bengal) and published at Murshidabad in 1907. The editor of the work tells us that the text has been printed from a Ms belonging to one Bhuvaneśvara Viśārada of the village Bhāṅgā-vāḍi in the district of Pabna, Bengal. This is also a work of the same character and contains 101 verses. On comparing it with the description given by Bendall of the British Musem Ms No. 241 (Add. 14, 769b), *Bilvamaṅgala-Stotra*, referred to above, it appears that the first two and the last verses quoted by Bendall from his Ms are identical with the corresponding verses of this printed work, although the number of verses in Bendall's Ms is 109. These two are therefore apparently different versions of the same work; it is probably also another version of the same work as the *Bilvamaṅgala-Stotra* described by Mitra No. 1198, in which the first verse agrees but not the last, and in which the total number of verses is increased to 281. This printed work, however, is interesting, for in this work again a large number of verses from the second and third sections of KK can be traced, while not a single verse of the first section occurs in it; a fact which appears to support our suggestion that the nucleus of these two later sections of KK was supplied by verses from other genuine or spurious works of Bilvamaṅgala. The corresponding verses are as follows :

Pāpayallaya Sūri's Text of KK, Second Āśvāsa, 7=Bilvamaṅgala Koṣa Kāvya 101, 13=27, 15=98, 26=33, 28=28, (= ŚP 72), 31=35, 35=95, 46=32, 51=69, 55=5, 57=9, 74=31, 77=36, 109=100; Third Āśvāsa 1=56, 2=43, 11=42, 12=80, 13=41, 14=81, 15=82, 17=26, 19=57, 20=38, 22=39, 28=83, 29=30, 30=85, 31=84, 32=94, 33=29, 34=86, 35=89, 38=87, 39=88, 46=62, 48=63, 51=66, 53=64, 54=65, 55=90, 57=91, 61=93, 64=61, 72=50, 74=52, 75=53, 78=54, 79=55, 81= 7, 85=22, 94=99.

It would appear from the above discussion of available materials that we can trace a considerable number of verses of the

second and third sections of Pāpayallaya's text in other works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala, while the citations in the anthologies (including the *Padyāvalī*) assign some of the verses of these sections to other authors. We can thus account for about 31 out of 110 verses in the second section and 43 out of 102 verses in the third section, which are for the most part derived from the *Bilvamaṅgala-Kośakāvya*, the *Śrīmaṅgala-Stotra*, or from other unknown works of Bilvamaṅgala from which the *Bhaktirasāmṛta* and *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* cite some verses. It is possible that we should be able to trace also other verses if we could examine all the works assigned by tradition to Bilvamaṅgala. But these instances are enough to raise the presumption that the nucleus of the second and third sections, which probably arose in later times, was made up by verses culled from other poems ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala, but into its swelling bulk verses of a similar character by other poets also found their way.

TREATMENT OF R̥ *IN PALI*

BY

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§ 1. The vowel *r̥* has undergone a varied development in the history of Indo-Aryan Linguistics and is one of the characteristics which differentiate Vedic and Classical Sanskrit from the rest of the languages belonging to this group. Whatever position it may have have had in Primary Prakrits, it has already undergone a change in the Literary Prakrits of the Secondary Stage. Evidence of this change is found in Ṛgveda itself, and forms like *vikaṭa-* from *vi-kr̥ta-*, *bhaṭa-* ∠ *bhr̥ta-*, *śithirá-*, *śithilá-* (Pk. *siḍhila-*), *śrath-* ∠ *śr̥th-*, *kūṭa-*, ∠ **kr̥ta-*, *kuṭṭima-* ∠ *kr̥trima-*, are quite common. When we come down to Pali, the dialects of Aśokan Inscriptions, and the dramatic and Jain Prakrits, Apabhraṁśa and the modern languages of N. India we do not discover this vowel, but find only its descendants. Wether *r̥* lived side by side with its descendants in the Primary Prakrits can not be absolutely determined though we find doublets like *vr̥kṣá-* and *rukṣá-* in Ṛgveda. According to Sanskrit Grammarians this vowel is either a *mūrdhanya* or a *jihvāmūlīya* and this difference in the pronunciation is probably the cause of such change in the Prakrit dialects (see Banarasi Das Jain: *Phonology of Panjabi*, § 94. p. 34). Prof. Jules Bloch has examined the development of this vowel in Aśoka's Inscriptions and has come to the conclusion that *r̥* ⁄ *a* is the usual treatment in the South-west and *r* ⁄ *i* in the North and East (*La Langue Marathe*, § 31).

§ 2. Like the Vedic language, Pali is a literary dialect, and borrows from the *feeders*, the non-literary patois. Unless we can reasonably fix the length and nature of such borrowing it is not possible to determine the original home of Pali. Consequently we have to survey the whole field of Pali Phonology, Morphology and Syntax before attempting to fix the position of Pali in Indo-Aryan. The present sketch will deal only with the treatment of *r̥*.

§ 3. Initially:

(a) *ṛ-/a-* : *accha-* m. bear ∠*ṛkṣa-* (see § 22 a.).

(b) *ṛ-/i-*: *ikka-* bear ∠*ṛkṣa-*; the form *ecchati* in *aticchati* as derived from Sk. *ṛcchati* in PED. and *acchati* from *ṛcchati* in Pischel § 57 are not correct; Pali *aticchati* is more definitely from Sk. *ati*+√*i*, after the analogy of *gacchati*, or from *eṣati* contaminated with *icchati*; see CPD. under *aticchati*, p. 86. The other form *acchati* stays, remains. has been compared to Marāṭhī *asṇē*, etc., see CPD. p. 35, but is really derived from Sk. *ākṣeti* abides, as proved by the Kharoṣṭhī form *hāchati* is, and Kashmiri *chuh* (see Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, 191a 39ff.).

iṇa- debt. ∠*ṛṇa* (but *anaṇe* from *aṛṇa*); *iddhi*∠*ṛddhi* (cf. AMg. JM. *iḍḍhi* beside *riddhi*); *isi* sage∠*ṛṣi* (cf. Ba. *isipaṭṭaṇa*, *mah.si*, etc.). *ijjhati* to prosper∠*ṛdhyati* prospers, succeeds. Pali *iñja i* shakes, moves, corresponds to Sk. *iṅgati* or *iṅgati*, *iṅgayati*, moves, agitates, shakes, both of which may be connected with *ṛñjati*, *rñjate*, to decorate, to gain, etc.

(c) *ṛ-/u-*: *uju* straight (whence *ujuka*, *ujutā*, *ujukaṃ* besides *ujju*, cf. AMg. Śaur. *ujju*; for others see Pischel, § 57) ∠ *ṛju-*; *utu* season, ∠*ṛtu-*; *uḍu-* upright, from Sk. *ṛju-* straight being the doublet of *utu*; *udu* may also be derived from *ṛtu*, cf. *ṛtá* order, truth, in which case the Śaurasenī *udu* may have been the base. *usabha* bull∠*ṛṣabha* (see § 9 b.)

(d) *ṛ-/i-ru-*: *Ṛgveda*∠*rubbeda*, *iruveda*, but occurs only in non-canonical literature.

(e) *ṛ-/i-ri-*: *irtvija-* from *ṛtvíj* priest (this word is not given in PED.; for reference see Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, p. 26; Frankfurter, *Handbook of Pali*, § 6. 4; V. Henry, *Précis de Grammaire Pâlie*, § 25. 4, and Seidenstücker, § 3 c,).

(f) *ṛ-/ri-*: *rie* instead, without, unless∠*ṛté*. (This word also is missing in PED.; for actual reference see Seidenstücker, § 3 c.).

§ 4. Barring the few cases mentioned in § 3 d, e, f, there are no old examples of an initial *ṛ* becoming either *ri-* or *ru-* or *ra-*; the examples quoted by Pischel (§ 56) of *ri-* for M. AMg. JM. JS. S. and of *li-* for Mg. are also found generally in Apabhraṁśa, in the published works of which no word retaining the origina

vowel is found despite Pischel § 47. Of these examples only Pk. and Ap. *riṇa* (*r̥ṇa-*), *rijjhaī* (*r̥dhyati*), and Sk. *r̥ndhati* have survived with initial *r* (see Turner, ND. under *rin*, *rini*, *rīdhnu* and *rijhinu*). These words are evidently late borrowings from Sanskrit, after initial *r̥-* had aleady become *a-*, *i-*, or *u-*, and have undergone the normal development of *ri-* or *ru-* depending upon the manner of its pronunciation.

§ 5. Medially we find that *-r̥-* becomes *-a-*, *-i-*, *-u-*, *-ra-* or *-ri-*, *-ru-*, or *-rū-*. We shall first take the case of *-r̥-* / *-a-*.

(a) Sk. *kr̥ta-* : Pa. *kaṭa-* or *kata-*.

1. *a-kaṭa* not made or created; cmpds. with °*-pabbhāra*, °*-bhūmibhāga*, °*-yūsa* m. n. broth, not especially prepared; °*-viññatti* f., °*-vidha*, °*-anudhamma*.

2. *a-kata* undone, not made; cmpds. see CPD. p. 3ff. *kata* with the following prefixes: *ati-*, *adhi-*, *anabhisam-*, *analam-*, *apa-*, *alam-*, *ava-*, *upas-*, *ni-*, *pa-*, *paṭi-*, *vi-*, *vippa-*, *sam-*, etc.

3. *kaṭa* mat, already seen in Rgveda; *vi-kaṭa*, changed, altered (beside *vikata*); *apākaṭatā* unfitness.

(b) *Kattikā* the constellation Pleiades (*Kr̥ttikā*); *tikkhattum*, thrice, *sattakkhattum*, seven times (*-kr̥tvaḥ*). *kasiṇa* entire, whole (*kr̥tsna-*), *kasira* miserable (*kr̥cchra-*); *a-kasira-lābhi-*

(c) The Sk. roots *kr̥ṣ* and *kr̥t* (*kr̥ntati*, *krṇatti*) have given rise to a number of words in Pali.

1. *kr̥ṣṇa-* : *kaṇha*, black, *akaṇha*, not black, *atikaṇha* too dark, (beside the form *kiṇha*). *kr̥ṣṭa-* gives us two forms, *kaḍḍha* and *kaṭṭha*. *kaḍḍha*: *atikaḍḍhati* has objection; *a-ni-kaḍḍhana* not turning out; *anu-kaḍḍhati* refers back; *apa-kaḍḍhati* draws away; *ava-kaḍḍhati* pulls out; *ā-kaḍḍhati* pulls along; *upa-kaḍḍhati* drags or pulls on to; *o-kaḍḍhati* drags away; *kaḍḍhati* draws out; *ni-kaḍḍhati* throws out and der. *nikaḍḍhanā* ejection, *nikaḍḍhita* ejected; *pari-kaḍḍhati* draws over to oneself; *sam-kaḍḍhati* collects; *sam-pari-kaḍḍhati* pulls out. *kaṭṭha-* : *a-kaṭṭha* not ploughed or cultivated; *a-ni-kaṭṭha* not near; *uk-kaṭṭha* exalted; *upa-kaṭṭha* approaching, near; *ni-kaṭṭha* brought down, debased; *vava-kaṭṭha* alienated; besides, from Sk. *ati-kr̥ṣya* we have *ati-kassa* drawing over.

2. Sk. *krntati* : Pa. *kantati*; *anu-kantati* cuts, scratches; *apa-kantati* cuts off; *ava-* or *o-kantati* cut off; *ava-* or *o-kantita* cut off;

uk-kantati cuts off; *kanta* cut off, *kantati* cuts off; *ni-kanta* cut, *ni-kantati* cuts; *pari-kanta* cut round; *pari-kantati* twists; *vikanta* cut open; *vikantati* cuts; *vi-kantana* knife; *sam-kantati* cuts all round; *kantita* cut out; Sk. *kṛtta-*: Pa. *pari-katta* cut off, cut off, cut round; *vi-katta* cut open.

(d) *kapaṇa* poor, miser (*kṛpaṇa-*).

§ 6. Of roots beginning with *g-*, *gṛ-*, we have *gṛh-*, *ghṛṣ-*; from these we have *gṛhṇāti*, *gṛhya-*, *ghṛṣṭa-*.

(a) Sk. *gṛhṇāti*: Pa. *ug-gaṇhāti* acquires; *upa-gaṇhāti* takes up; *gaṇhati*, *gaṇhāti* takes *pag-gaṇhāti* stretches forth; *pari-gaṇhāti* embraces; *sam-gaṇhāti* contains, includes; *sam-adhi-gaṇhāti* attains. *Sam-ug-gaṇhāti* seizes; *sam-paggaṇhāti* exerts; Pa. *agayha* impossible to grasp (*agṛhya-*).

(b) Sk. *ghṛṣṭa-*: Pa. *ug-ghaṭṭha*, *ug-ghaṭṭa* crushed; *upa-ghaṭṭita* knocked against; *ghaṭṭa* rubbed, knocked against; although we should expect the form **ghaṭṭha*, we have here *ghaṭṭa* which gives us Pk. *ghaṭṭaï* falls; in all these forms there is a hesitation in spelling. We have also the verb *ghaṭṭeti* to strike, beat, etc. and *ghaṭṭana* striking, *san-ghaṭṭana*, *saṅghaṭṭa* etc. where the idea of rubbing, striking, is predominant. It would appear here that the final aspiration is lost on account of the initial aspirate, but in this case it is difficult to explain the Sindhi form *gaṭho* rubbed, which is the normal development of PE. *ghaṭṭha-* in Sindhi (see Turner N. p. 153 a 39-42). We shall have to take into consideration M. *ghāṭṇẽ*, Konkaṇī *ghāṭcẽ*, to churn, in accepting the Pali form *ghaṭṭa-*.

(c) Pa. *Aṅgati* a king of Mithilā, is connected with Sk. **Aṅkṛti-Lākṛti*; it is noteworthy that beside the change of *-ṛ-* to *-a-* there is also one of *-ṅk-* to *-ṅg-*; in these forms we have to deal with perhaps pre-Pali terms; for similar softening of consonants see JA. 1912, II. 495ff., *Observations sur une langue prècanonique du Bouddhisme* par Sylvain Lèvi, and E. J. Thomas in *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz*, p. 161ff. where we have *pārājika* from **pārañciya-*, *pārāciya*, and *saṅghādisesa* from *-atiśeṣa*. Particularly such changes are more frequent in proper names.

gaha house (*gṛha-*); but *a-giha* and *geha* from **giha-* (*gṛha-*).

§ 7. *aḍḍha-tiya* two and a half evidently comes from *aḍḍha-tatiya* (*-tr̥tīya*); *jambhati*, yawns (*jṛmbhate*).

(a) Of the roots in *tr̥-* we have *tr̥p-*, *tr̥ṣ-*;

1. *tr̥pyate*: Pa. *tappati* is satisfied.

2. *tr̥ṣati*: *tasati* to be thirsty (beside *taṇhīyati*, see below); *tr̥ṣṇā*: *taṇhā* and *tasiṇā* thirst.

(b) Of the roots in *dr̥-*, *dhr̥-* there are *dr̥ś-*, *drh-* or *dr̥ṁh* and *dhr̥*

1. *addasā* he saw (*adr̥śat*), the doubling of the dental being due to contamination with *addakkhi* (*adrākṣīt*); *-dasa* seeing (*-dr̥śa*); *-dasika* to be seen (*-dr̥śika-*), appearing only in *duddasika* fierce; the form**dassati* (*dr̥śyate*) sees, perceives is hypothetical, the actual form being *dissati*. *daṭṭhum* (*drāṣṭum*), but *daṭṭhu* is from Sk. *dr̥ṣṭvā*.

2. *dhata* firm (*dhr̥ta-*); the cerebralised form is seen by the side of the dental in *uddhaṭa* pulled out, *uddhata* lifted up, from Sk. *ud-dhr̥ta-*.

3. *daḷha* firm, strong (*dr̥ḍha-*, but in Vedic *dr̥ḷhá-*).

(c) There is only one root in *nr̥-*, and that is *nr̥t-*; *naṭati* dance (**nr̥tati*); *nacca* dance (*nr̥tya-*), whence the forms *naccaka*, *naccati* and *naccana*; the words *naṭa* and *naṭaka* dancer also come from *naṭati*.

§ 8. *paṭhavī*, *pathavī*, earth (*pr̥thivī*); for other forms see § 20. c. *pasata-*, *pasada-*, spotted (*pr̥ṣat-*); *bhakuṭi* superciliousness (*bhr̥kuṭi-*).

(a) There are no roots in *pr̥-*, *br̥-* which develop into *pa-*, *ba-*; but of the roots in *bhr̥-* we have *bhr̥-*, and *bhr̥śj-* or *bhr̥jj-*.

1. *apā-bhata*, stolen (*bhr̥ta-*); *ub-bhata* brought out, drawn out (*ud-bhr̥ta-*); *o-bhata* having taken away (*ava-bhr̥ta-*); *pā-bhati*, present, bribe (*-bhr̥ti-*); *pāribhaṭya* (*-bhr̥tya-*) petting; the readings in the last instance are varied, the dental and cerebral forms being present; beside these we have *bhacca*, to be carried (*bhr̥tya-*); *bhaṭa* a servant (*bhr̥ta-*), already in Sk.; *bhati*, *bhatikā*, wages (*bhr̥ti-*); *bhataka*, hired servant (*bhr̥taka-*); *bhata*, fed, reared (*bhr̥ta-*).

2. *bhajjati* roasts (*bhr̥jjáti* fries).

(b) The following roots in *mr̥-*, come under the *-a-* treatment: *mr̥-*, *mr̥j-*, *mrś-*, *mrṇ-*.

1. *anāmata* where nobody has died (*-mṛta-*); *amata*, ambrosia (*amṛta-*); *maṭakam* (not found in PED., ∠*mṛtakam*) corpse; *maccu* (*mṛtyu-*).

2. *pari-maṭṭha*, rubbed, polished (*mṛṣṭa-* from *mṛj-*); *pali-maṭṭha*, polished (*mṛṣṭa-*); *maṭṭa-*, *maṭṭha*, wiped, polished (*mṛṣṭa-*); *vi-maṭṭha*, polished, smoothed;

3. *maṇāti*, *manāti*, crushes, destorys (*mṛṇāti*, smashes, slays).

4. Sk. *mṛśáti* touches: Pa. *anu-masati*, touches (*anu-massa*, having touched); *ā-masati*, *paṭi-masati* *parā-masati*, *pari-masati*, *masati*, touches.

Sk. *mṛṣṭa*: *anā-maṭṭha*, untouched; *ā-maṭṭha*, touched; *parā-maṭṭha*; (see *pamuṭṭha*, *pamussati* § 15. c. 1.)

(c) *makkha* hypocrisy (*mṛkṣa-* or *mrakṣa-* concealment, hypocrisy, the latter being more likely, for *mṛkṣáḥ* is a scraping instrument). *maga* (beside *miga-*∠*mṛga-*) deer: *maṭikā*, clay (*mṛttikā*); *ā-maṭṭikā* earthern ware.

§ 9. (a) The following are the roots beginnig with *v-*: *vṛ-*, *vṛt-*, *vṛdh-*, *vṛṣ-*, *vṛj-*,

1. Sk. *vṛtá-*: Pa. *-vaṭa-*, *-vata-*;

(i) *anā-vaṭa*, uncovered; *āvaṭa*, covered; *o-vaṭa*, obstructed; *vi-vaṭa*, uncovered, *vi-vaṭa-ka*, open.

(ii) *a-sam-vata* open unrestricted.

(iii) *avyāvaṭa*, not occupied, careless (has also the alternative form *abyāvaṭa*) may be either from Sk. *a-vyāpṛta-*, not engaged or occupied, or from Sk. *a-vyā-vṛta-*, not covered or screened.

(2) Sk. *vṛttá-*: Pa. *vaṭṭa-*, *vatta-*.

(i) *vaṭṭa-* adj. circular, n. circle; *sam-vaṭṭa* rolling on; Sk. *vṛtti-*: Pa. *vaṭṭi*:- a wick (perh. ∠*va-tiḥ*), enclosure, lining, circumference (*vṛtti-*).

(ii) *upāti-vatta* gone beyond; *ni-vatta* returned; *pari-vatta* twisting; *vi-vatta* uncovered; Sk. *vṛtti-*: Pa. *vatti-*: *anu-vatti* following; *abhi-ni-bhatti*, rebirth, becoming, whence *abhi-ni-bhattati*; *ni-bhatti*, consitution; *ni-vatti* return; *anā-vatti* not turning back.

(3) Sk. *vṛddha-*: Pa. *vaḍḍha-*, *vaḍḍha-*; for other forms see § 22c.

(i) *anu-vaḍḍhi* (∠*vṛddhi-*) after-growth; *abhi-vaḍḍhi* increase; *a-vaḍḍhi* non-growth; *vaḍḍhi* increase: *sam-vaḍḍha* grown up; *vaḍḍham* wealth; *pa-vaḍḍha* grown up;

(ii) *vaddha-* old.

(4) *vr̥ṣṭa-*√*vaṭṭa*: *abhi-vaṭṭa* rained upon (so PED.); the form to be expected is **vaṭṭha-*, and we have actually *vuṭṭha-* (see § 16 d.) and there is the difficulty of explaining the loss of the aspiration; Andersons's v. l. of *-vaḍḍha-* also does not explain this.

(5) Sk. *vr̥jyate-*√Pa. *vajjati* to be avoided.

(b) *vaka* wolf (*vr̥ka-*); *mālā-vaccha* (∠*-vr̥kṣa-*) a kind of ornamental plant or tree; *vaṇṭa* a stalk *vaṇṭaka, vaṇṭika,* etc. (*vr̥nta-*), *a-vaṇṭa* without a stalk; *vasabha* a bull (*vr̥ṣabha-*); *vasala,* an out-caste, untouchable (*vr̥ṣala-*).

§ 10. *saṁkhalā* chain, whence *saṅkhalikā* (*śr̥ṅkhalā*); *saṭhila* loose, (**śr̥thilā-*, cf. Ved. *śrath-*, Pk. *saḍhila-*; already present in Sk. as *śilhla-*).

The following are the roots beginning with *s-*: *sr̥-, sr̥j-, str̥-, smr̥-*.

(a) *sr̥ta*√*saṭa*: *abhi- saṭa* come together; *ava-*or *o-saṭa* withdrawn; *anu-saṭa* followed by; *anu-vi-saṭa* dispersed; *us-saṭa* run away; *o-saṭa* having withdrawn; *nis-saṭa* let loose; *pa-saṭa* let out, produced (is from Sk. *pra-sr̥-* proceed, spring forth, extend, and not from *pa-sr̥j* as PED. would have it); *paṇṇa-saṭa* heap of leaves.

(b) *asam-saṭṭha* not mixed (*sr̥ṣṭa-*); *o-saṭṭha* released; *pati-nis-saṭṭha* forsaken; *pali-sajjati* loosens (*sr̥jyate*); *viññupa-saṭṭha* unattacked; *vi-sam-saṭṭha* separated; *vi-ssaṭṭha* let loose; *sam-saṭṭha* mixed up; *sajati* lets loose (*sr̥jati*); *saṭṭha* dismissed.

(c) *o-tthaṭa, otthata* spread over (*str̥ta-*); *pa-tthaṭa* spread out; *sam-thata* spread, strewn with.

(d) *anu-ssati* recollection (*-smr̥ti-*); *paṭissata* thoughtful (*-smr̥ta*); *sata* remembered (*smr̥ta-*); *sati* memory, mindfulness (*smr̥ti-*); and in all cmpds. of *sati-*.

§ 11. Following are the roots in *h-*: *hr̥-, hr̥ṣ-*,

(a) Sk. *hr̥ta-* √Pa. *haṭa-, hata.*

(i) *anī-haṭa* not thrown out (*anir-hr̥ta-*); *abhi-haṭa* brought, offered, presented; *ati-haṭa* carried along; *ajjho-haṭa* eaten, swallowed; *ava-haṭa* stolen; *a-visā-haṭa* imperturbed; *ā-haṭa* brought; *nī-haṭa* removed; *pari-haṭa* encircled; *pa-haṭa* assailed; *haṭa* carried off, taken.

(ii) *apā-hata* driven off; *ū-hata* lifted, raised; *vi-hata* broad; *sam-hata* narrow, close; although Sk. *sam-hṛta* has the sense of " drawn together, " this and the preceding may be more rightly connected with √*han-* to strike, *hata-* struck; e. g. *sam-hata* composite, compact *vi-hata* repelled.

(b) *pari-haṭṭha* gladdened (*-hṛṣṭa-*); *pa-haṭṭha*; *sam-pa-haṭṭha* gladdened; *haṭṭha* happy; *hassati* is happy (*hṛṣyati*).

(c) *hadaya* heart (*hṛdaya-*).

§ 12. *-ṛ-* / *-i-*.

(a) Sk. *kṛtya-* / Pa. *kicca* duty; *a-kicca* not to be done, and cmpds.; *atta-kicca* one's own business.

(b) Sk. *kṛcchra-* / Pa. *kiccha* (see also § 5 b. for *kasira-*) miserable, distressed, whence *a-kicchc-lābhin*, obtaining with difficulty or trouble. Sk. *kṛtrima-* / Pa. *a-kittima* not artificial; Sk. *kṛka-*, *kṛkara* or *kṛkala-*, a kind of partridge, *kṛkalāsa-* a lizard, *kṛkavākuḥ* a hen: Pa. *kikī* a blue jay or hen; Sk. *kṛṣṭa-* cultivated ground: Pa. *kiṭṭha* corn-filed (see § 5 c. l. for *kaṭṭha-*, *kaḍḍha-*). *kiṇha* black (*kṛṣṇa-*); for *kaṇha* see § 5 c. l. *kimi* worm (*kṛmi-* Sk. *krimi-*) whence *kimina* covered with worms. *kisa* lean, haggard (*kṛṣa-*);

(c) Sk. *gṛddha-*: Pa. *giddha* greedy, *agiddha* not greedy; *anu-giddha* greedy after; *anu-gijjhati* to be greedy after (*gṛdhyate*). Sk. *gṛdhra-*: Pa. *gijjha* a vulture; *giddhi* greed (**gṛddhi-*); *pa-giddha* greedy after; *paḍi-gijjha* hankering after (*-gṛdhya-*); *pali-gedha*, *pali-gedhita* seem to be from *-giddha-*. *anu-giṇāti* to say after, to repeat, to approve or assent (*gṛṇāti*); *a-giha* (*gṛha-*) houseless; *gihin* (*gṛhin*) householder;

§ 13. (a) *tiṇa* grass (*tṛṇa-*); *titta* satisfied (*tṛpta-*), *titti* satisfaction (*tṛpti-*) but *tappati* ∠ *tṛpyate*, see § 7 a.

(b) *aññādisa* (*-dṛśa*), *aññādi* (*-dṛś-*), *aññādikkha* (*-dṛkṣa-*) like another; *ī-disa*, *e-disa* (*-dṛśa-*) such like; *tādisa* (*tādṛśa-*), *tādin* (*tādṛṅ*: *tādṛś-*) such like; *tumhā-disa* (*-dṛśa*) like you; *mādisa*, *mārisa* (*-dṛśa*); *yā-disa* (*-dṛśa-*), which like, whence *yādisaka*; *sarikkha* like, resembling, (*sadṛkṣa-*) *dissati* is seen (*dṛṣyate*), *padissati* to be seen; for other forms see § 7. b. l.

Sk. *dṛṣṭa-*, *dṛṣṭi-*: Pa. *diṭṭha*, *diṭṭhi*; *atta-diṭṭhi* belief in a self; *attānu-diṭṭhi* view of one's self; *a-daḷha-diṭṭhi* not dense, not

restive, easy to be convinced; *a-diṭṭha* invisible; *onu-diṭṭha* theory; *diṭṭha* seen; *diṭṭhi* theory, especially a dogmatic one; *sam-diṭṭhi* the visible world, whence *sam-diṭṭhika*, visible.

§ 14. *ni-mmātā-pitika* orphan (*pitṛka-*); *pitika* having a father; *piṭṭha* back (*pṛṣṭhá-*), whence *piṭṭhi-*, *piṭṭhika*, *piṭṭhi-mant*, etc. *pisodara* having a spotted belly (*pṛṣodara-*);

(a) *bhātika* (*bhrātṛka-*) brotherly *bhiṅka*. young of an animal, particularly elephant (*bhṛṅga-*); *bhiṅkāra* water jar, a bird (*bhṛṅgāra-* a golden pitcher, *bhṛṅgārī* a cricket); notice the devoicing of the Sk. consonant after the nasal in the Pali forms. *bhisi* a cushion, bolster; *bhisikā* a small bolster, (*bṛsī*, *bṛṣī*, *vṛsī*, *vṛṣī* a roll of twisted grass, pad, cushion).

(b) *ajina-miga* (*-mṛga-*) a kind of deer; *mātikā* water course (*maṭṛkā* the veins on both sides of the neck); *a-mātika* (*a-māṭṛka*) motherless; *miga* wild animal (*mṛga-*), whence *migī* a doe; *migayā* (*mṛgayā*) a hunt;

§ 15. (a) *vicchika* (*vṛścika-*) a scorpion.

(b) *sigāla* (*śṛgāla-*, *sṛgālá-*) a jackal; *siṅga* (*śṛṅga-*) a horn; *siṅgāra* (*śṛṅgāra-*) erotic sentiment, finery, grace; *siṅgī*, *siṅgika-* etc. from *siṅga-*; *siṅgivera* (*śṛṅgavera-*) ginger; *siṅghāṭaka* (*śṛṅgāṭaka-* cross-way) a square where four roads meet; *sithila* (**śṛthila-*, Sk. *śithila-*, *śithira-*) loose, lax; for *saṭhila* see § 10. *sakid* (*sakṛt*) once.

§ 16. *-ṛ-/-u-*:

(a) *kukkucca* (*-kṛtya-*) bad act; the words *kutta*, *kuttaka* are not to be derived from **kṛtr*, as PED. suggests, but, *kutta* work, is from *klpta-* created, produced, *kuttaka* a woolen carpet, will be an extension of *kutta-* and not connected with *kṛ-* in "*karoti* in the sense of weaving," for which we have **kartati*, see Turner, N. 86 a 40, and in Pali *kantati*, Sk. **kṛntati*, and not *kṛṇatti* as PED. gives. PED. mention *kuttima* in connection with *kutta*, but there is no separate entry and no reference; if it exists it is to be connected with Sk. *kṛttrima* from which we have already in Sk. *kuṭṭima* (Wackernagel I. § 146), and Pa. *kittima*, see § 11 b. above.

(b) *suṇoti* hears (*śṛṇoti*, influenced by *śru-*?).

§ 17. Sk. *pṛcchati*/Pa. *pucchati*, Sk. *pṛṣṭa*/Pa. *puṭṭha*: *abhi-pucchati* asks; *ā-pucchati* enquires after; *paṭi-pucchati* enquires;

pari-pucchati inquires; *anānu-puṭṭha* not asked; *pati-pucchā* (*-pṛcchā*) inquiry; *pucchā* (*pṛcchā*) question.

(a) *puthavī, puthuvī* (*pṛthvī*) earth; see § 20 c. for other forms. *puthu* (*pṛthu-*) numerous, (*∠pṛthak*) separate.

(b) *bhusa* (*bhṛśa-*) strong; *buḍḍha* (*vṛddha-*) aged, old; see below for other forms, and also § 20 c.

(c) 1. Sk. *mṛṣyate, mṛṣṭa-*/ Pa. *mussati, -muṭṭha*: *pa-mussati* forgets; *pa-muṭṭha* forgotten; *pa-mussati* forgetful; *pari-mussati* vanishes; *musati* (*mṛṣati*) betrays; *sam-muṭṭha* confused; *sam-mōsa* (*-mṛṣā*) confusion; *musā* (*mṛṣā*) falsely.

2. *mutiṅga, mudiṅga* (*mṛdaṅga-*) a small drum; *mudutā, mudutā* (*mṛdutā*) softness; *mudu* soft, *muduka* (*mṛdu-ka*) flexible; *mātuka* (*mātṛka-*) genetrix, matrix, (but *mātikā* see above, § 13 b.).

§ 18. The following roots are subject to the *-u-* treatment: *vṛ-, vṛt-, vṛdh-, vṛṣ-*.

(a) *apā-puṇāti* (*apā-vṛṇoti*) opens (a door, etc.); *abhi-nibbuta* (*-vṛta-*) perfectly cooled; *a-sam-vuta* (*-vṛta-*) not restrained; *ā-vuta* tied on, fixed on (but *āvaṭa*, covered, see § 9. a. 1. above). *nibbuta* extinguished; *ni-vuta* surrounded; *ni-bbuti* (*-vṛti-*) cooling down; **vuṇāti* (*vṛṇāti*); *sam-vuta* closed;

(b) *anu-vutti* (*vṛtti-*) supplementary explanation; *vutti* (*vṛtti-*) conduct, whence *vuttika*; *vuttin* (*vṛttin*) behaving.

(c) 1. *ati-vuddha* (*vṛddha-*) very old; *abhi-vuddha* grown up; *abhi-vuddhi* (*vṛddhi-*) increase, growth, prosperity; *pa-vuddha* grown up; *vuddha*; *vuddhi*;

2. *abhi-vuḍḍha* increased, enriched; *vuḍḍha* old; *vuḍḍhi*; for other forms see § 20. c.

(d) *ati-vuṭṭhi* (*-vṛṣṭi-*) excessive rain; *abhi-ppa-vuṭṭha* (*vṛṣṭa-*) having rained; *abhi-vuṭṭha* poured out; *pa-vuṭṭha*; *vuṭṭha* rained (see *vaṭṭa* and *vaṭṭha*, § 9. a. 4.); *vuṭṭhi* rain;

§ 19. *ā-phusati* (*spṛśáti*) feels *pari-ppuṭṭha-* (*spṛṣṭa-*) filled; *phuṭṭha* touched; *phusati* (*spṛśáti*) touches; *sam-phusati*.

(a) Beside these changes we must also consider the changes in declension. In the forms *satthūnam* (*śāstṛṇām*), *satthusu* (*śāstṛṣu*), and in the thematic *pitu-*, and *mātu-*, etc. for *pitṛ-, mātr-*, we see the same action.

(b) In the compounds *pitucchā* (*pitṛ-ṣvasṛ-*) paternal aunt, *mātucchā* (*mātṛ-ṣvasṛ-*) matenal aunt, the same change is seen.

(c) *bhātuka* (*bhrātṛka-*) brother; *satthuka* (śāstṛka-), *satthu-vaṇṇa* (*śāstṛ-varṇa-*) gold, in all this forms the -u- treatment predominates.

§ 20. (a) *-ṛ-/-ra-* : *brahant* (*bṛhant*) vast.

(b) *-ṛ-/-rū-* : *ati-brūheti* (*-bṛṁhayati*) strengthens, encourages; *anu-brūheti* practices, fosters; *pari-brūhati* (*-bṛṁhati*) augments, whence, *brūhita*, *brūhana*; *brūheti* increases (bṛṁhayati).

apāruta (*apā-vṛta* : **apāvruta*) open; *pāruta* (*prā-vṛta-* : **pāvruta*) covered.

rukkha (**vṛkṣa-* : *vrukkha*) tree.

§ 21. The Pali forms *abbūḷha* drawn out, *paribbūḷha* surrounded, go back to Sk. *-bṛḍha-* or *-vṛdha-* from *bṛh-* on the analogy of Sk. *bṛhaṇṭ* : Pa. *brahant*, according to Wackernagel, which explains the doubling of the labial (see *Altindische Grammatik*, I. p. 32), and the long *-ū-* is a trace of long *-r̄-* from Vedic.

In § 4 mention was made of the absence of old examples of *ṛ-* becoming *ri-*; Dr. Jain also mentions of their absence in Vedic (*Panjabi Phonology*, § 99, p. 35), but we have one already in the *Saṁhitā* period; the two themes *ṛ́śya-* in Rgveda and *ríśya* in the other *Saṁhitās*, beside the roots in Rgveda *ṛṣ-* (*ṛṣati*) to pierce, stab, *riṣ-* (*ríṣyati*) to injure, give us the earliest example of this change. From this we have in the Pali *rissati* to be hurt.

§ 22. The first point which strikes us in the classifying of these changes is the presence of labial consonants in the *-u-* treatment. The only two exceptions in § 15 *kukkucca* and *suṇoti* may be explained through assimilation of the vowel in the first case and the thematic form *śru-* in the second. The forms in § 17 a. b. c. are due to Sk. forms like *pituḥ*, *mātuḥ*, *bhrātuḥ*, etc. Thus the only two developments which matter are the *-a-* and *-i-* treatments. Before considering these treaments we shall bring together examples of double or multiple treatment of the same.

(a) Sk. *ṛkṣa-* : Pa. *accha ikka*; form the first form we have Marāṭhi *āsval* bear; in Pk. we have the from *riccha* which gives us M. *rīs*, H. G. *rich*, Panjabi *ricch*. Corresponding to *ikka* we have Pk. *rikkha-*; as in the case of the treatment of Sk. *ṛ* there is con-

fusion with regard to the treatment of Sk. *-kṣ-*; Professor Turner regards the *cch* development as the normal one for Marāṭhī, and perhaps also for Gujarati and Sinhalese and for the North-west of Dardic group. (See his *Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*, § 14).

Sk. *ṛṇa-* : Pa. *iṇa*, but in cmpds. *-aṇa* as in *sāṇa, anaṇa*.

(b) Sk. *kṛcchra-* : Pa. *kasira, kiccha* ; Sk. *kṛṣṇa-* : Pa. *kaṇha, kiṇha* ; Sk. *kṛṣṭa-* : Pa. *kaṭṭha-, kaḍḍha-, kiṭṭha* (cornfield, as opposed to " drawn ") ; Sk. *kṛttrima-* : Pa. *kittima-, kuttima-* ; Sk. *gṛha-* : Pa. *gaha, giha, gihin*, etc. ; Sk. *tṛpyate, tṛpta-, tṛpti-* : Pa. *tappati, titta, titti* ; from *dṛś* we have on the one hand *-dasa-, addasā, dasika*, and on the other, *-disa-, -risa-, diṭṭhi, diṭṭha, dissati*, etc. ; *maga* beside *-miga-, migayā* from Sk. *mṛga-* Pa. *saṭhila, sithila*, from Sk. **śṛthira-*.

(c) Sk. *pṛthivī* : Pa. *paṭhavī, pathavī, puthavī, puthuvī* ; beside *masati* and *maṭṭha* in the sense of touching, we have *mussati, muṭṭha, mvsati*, but the first series is from *mṛś-* to touch, and the second from *mṛś-* to forget ; beside *vaṭa, vata*, we have *vuta* from Sk. *vṛta-* ; *vaṭṭa, vaṭṭi vatti* beside *vutti* from *vṛtti-* ; *vaḍḍha, vaḍḍhi, vaddha, vuḍḍha, vuḍḍhi, vuddha* from Sk. *vṛddha-* ; **vaṭṭa* (doubtful form) beside more regular *vuṭṭha, vuṭṭhi* (*vṛṣṭa-, vṛṣṭi*).

§ 23. Observations on the *i* development : *kicca ∠ kṛtya-* due to palatalisation by *y* in the second syallable ; Pa. *kasira* is the normal development with *svarabhakti*, in *kiccha* there is no *svarabhakti* and the same palatalising action is to be seen as in the former case. *kittima* due to assimilation of the second syllable ; *kikī* due to onomatopoeia ; *kiṭṭha* in the specialised sense of cornfield only; *kiṇha* is due to borrowing of the form from those dialects where *svarabhakii* takes place and gives the form *kisaṇ* ; *kimi* may also be from Sk. *krimi* where *-ṛ-* has already become *-ri-* in Sk. from Vedic *kṛmi-*; all the forms of the Sk. root *gṛdh-* are affected by the palatalisation of the form *gṛdhyate* : the only form which has escaped this treatment is *tappati*, but here we have *titta titti* ; the influence of Sk. *tarpayati* is to be seen on it. Similarly *dissati* is influenced by *dṛśyate*, whence *diṭṭha, diṭṭhi*, etc. ; *dassati* is influenced by Sk. *darśana, darśayati*, etc. In the double treatment of *mātuka* : *mātikā* there is a contamination with the suffix *-ikā* in the second case, and of *-ka* in the first case ; this will

explain forms like *bhātika, pitika,* etc. The confusion of *giha* and *gaha* is already seen in Sk. *gehá-*, and must go back to a very early period. The same is true of *sithila*; in the case of Sk. words in *śr̥-* the palatalising influence of *ś* is seen in Pali *si-*. The remaining examples are the only ones where we have this dialectical development, which must be attributed to borrowing.

§ 24. It is thus clear from a study of the development of *r̥* in Pali that the *a* treatment is the predominant one, and the other treatments are only incidental to borrowing from neighbouring dialects where these were either inherent or else borrowed in their turn. Comparing this with a study of Aśokan Inscriptions we shall have to place Pali along with the South-west dialects. Further evidence for this will be seen in the history of the cerebrals, the treatment of *kṣ* and such allied themes which together determine the position of a dialect in Indo-Aryan.

§ 25. The abbreviations and references used in this sketch:

Turner, N. Nepali-English Dictionary.
Bloch, J. Formation de la langue Marathe.
Jain, Phonology of Panjabi.
PED. Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary.
CPD. Critical Pali-English Dictionary, ed. Trenckner.
Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik.
Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen.
Sk. Sanskrit; Pa. Pali; Pk. Prakrit; M. Marāṭhī; G. Gujarati; P. Panjabi; H. Hindi. The others are self evident.

INFLUENCE OF TANTRA ON THE SMṚTI-NIBANDHAS[1]

BY

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA, M. A.

Part II

(3) 1250-1400 A. D.

Of the works belonging to this period the *Kṛtyācāra* of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, the *Kṛtya-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, the *Parāśarabhāṣya* of Mādhavācārya and the *Madana-pārijāta* of Madanapāla are examined below. The famous encyclopaedic work entitled *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* of Hemādri also belongs to this period. As it has not been possible for us to procure a printed copy or a Ms. of even a part of this work, it has been left out of consideration here.

The *Kṛtyācāra* of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya (1275-1310. A. D.)

The *Kṛtyācāra*,[2] also called the *Ācārādarśa*, of Śrīdatta, who is one of the most famous Nibandhakāras of Mithilā, is a manual of the daily duties of the Vājasaneyins and deals with the sipping of water, brushing the teeth, morning bath, prayer, muttering the mantra, study of the Vedas, offering libations of water to the gods and manes, daily worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva, feeding guests, etc. It does not recognise the authority of the Tantras, nor does it refer to them even once. The Tantric element, which it has imbibed, is very little and is found only in the case of the Vaidikī saṃdhyā, which requires the citation of the mantras like 'Oṃ svaḥ Kavacāya hūṃ,' 'Oṃ bhūr-bhuvaḥ svaḥ astrāya phaṭ,' etc. (fol, 44).

The *Kṛtya-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara (1314-1370 A. D.)

This work[3] of Caṇḍeśvara, the minister of Harasiṃhadeva of

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1 Continued from The *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XV (1933-34), pp. 220-235.

2 Ms. No. M42/39 in the Dacca University Mss. Library. As the Ms. is not yet catalogued, its number in the rough valuation list is given here. This Ms. is dated 1700 Śaka and it is fairly correct.

3 We have used the mutilated palm-leaf Ms. No. 1055C in the Dacca University Mss. Library. This Ms. is very badly damaged, many of its folios being lost and many others damaged at the sides.

Mithilā, is the first section of a digest called *Smṛti-ratnākara* or simply *Ratnākara.* It ' deals in 22 taraṅgas with the discussion of Dharma (its real nature, its rewards, means of knowing it and the occasions for it), the various vratas and observances in the several months from Caitra, the observances in the week, the Sun's passage into a new sign, eclipse on the new-moon day etc.'[1]

This work is familiar with the worship of the Śākta deities. Among the festivals of the hemanta-kāla, the worship of the goddess Śyāmā (i. e. Kālī) is one. This worship is to be accompanied with songs, instrumental music, dance of harlots, worship of women and intoxicating drinks.[2]

The authorities quoted in the *Kṛtya-ratnākara* are the Purāṇas, the Upa-purāṇas and the Smṛti works but never the Tantras, the Āgamas or the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās. The Purāṇas and the Upa-purāṇas drawn upon are the *Bhaviṣya, Matsya, Āgneya, Brahma, Vārāha, Viṣṇu-dharmottara, Viṣṇu, Skanda, Padma, Kālikā, Devī* and *Āditya.*

The *Parāśarabhāṣya* of Mādhavācārya (1300-1385 A. D.)

The *Parāśarabhāṣya*[3] of Mādhavācārya, the most famous writer on Dharma-śāstra of Southern India, is much more a digest on civil and religious law than a mere commentary. It is a voluminous work extending over nearly 2300 printed pages. In this work Mādhava, like Devaṇabhaṭṭa, draws upon the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* to prescribe the painting of the ūrddhvapuṇḍra and other sect-marks resembling a lamp, a wick of a lamp, a bamboo-leaf etc. [4] He quotes Satyavrata to show that the ūrddhvapuṇḍra purifies even a Cāṇḍāla and makes him worthy of respect.[5] He also recommends, by quoting Hārīta, Gautama, Prajāpati, Vyāsa, Yama and Manu, the use of a rosary of beads during muttering the mantra.

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1 Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I. p. 366.

2 ' bhojyaṁ viśeṣataḥ kāryaṁ śrotavyaṁ gīta-vāditaṁ ।
draṣṭavyaṁ puṁścalī-nṛtyaṁ pūjanīyās tathā striyaḥ ॥
navañ-ca madyaṁ pātavyaṁ madyapaiś ca yathākramaṁ ॥
hima-pūjā ।

3 Edited by V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay Sanskrit Series.

4 *Parāśarabhāṣya*, Vol. I, part i, pp. 266-7.

5 Ibid., pp. 267-8.

Though Mādhava quotes the *Agni-P*, *Kūrma-P.* and a Smṛti-work (*Smṛtyantara*), to show that the different sectaries (viz: the Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas, Erāhmas, Sauras, Śāktas and others) should worship their gods with their respective mantras,[1] he describes the method of the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva only. For the method of the worship of the former god, he draws upon the *Aśvamedhika* (*Mahābhārata*), the *Āgneya* (i. e. *Agni-P.*) Baudhāyana and the *Kūrma-P.* According to the first of these, a lotus (padmaka), having filaments and eight petals, is to be drawn on the altar on which Viṣṇu is to be worshipped and the sectarian mantras of eight or twelve syllables, the Vedic mantras, or the Puruṣa-sūkta are to be used (cf. Vol, I, p. 366). According to the second, the medium of worship is water, fire, the heart, the sun, an altar or an image and the mantra to be used is the Puruṣa-sūkta. The sixteen verses of this sūkta are to be placed on the different parts of the body of the worshipper as well as the god. These 16 verses are also to be cited during the invocation, offer of seat and other things, salutation etc. For the worship of S'iva, Baudhāyana and the *Kūrma-P.* are drawn upon.

Mādhava explains the word ' ca ' in *Parāśara-saṃhitā* I, 39 (saṁdhyā snānaṁ japo homo devatānāṁ ca pūjanam) to include the worship of the preceptor (guru-pūjā) also, and quotes the *Śruti*, the *Śaiva-purāṇa* and *Manu* for the purpose.[2] According to the second, S'iva, the mantra and the preceptor are inseparable[3].

Though Mādhava does not seem to have recoginsed the authority of the Tantras and the Āgamas as sources of dharma, he refers to the ' Vaiṣṇavāgama ' and the ' Śaivāgama ' in connection with the unity of God.[4] A verse is quoted from the latter to establish that in case of disease and fear from kings, thieves and others, the non-performance of the duties to the superiors, the fire and the gods does not involve sin.

The *Madana-pārijāta* of Madanapā a (1300-1400 A. D.)

Though the name of King Madanapāla is connected with the

1 Ibid., pp. 364-5.
2 Ibid., pp. 376-7.
3 Ibid., p. 377.
4 Ibid., pp. 210 and 209 respectively.

Madana-pārijāta, he is not the real author of the work. It was compiled by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa under his patronage.[1]

In this work [2] there is very little Tantric element. It recognises only the Vedic saṁdhyā which requires the invocation of the goddess Gāyatrī and the nyāsa of the different syllables of the Gāyatrī mantra on the different parts of the body. It also gives directions about the painting of the sect-marks ūrddhvapuṇḍra etc. after mid-day bath and the use of the japa-mālā during the muttering of the mantra. According to it, the worship of Viṣṇu is to be done with the Puruṣa-sūkta, the verses of which are to be placed on the different parts of the body after the direction of Yogi-Yājñavalkya. In the worship of Brahmā and other gods also the respective Vedic mantras are to be used. If any body is unable to use the Vedic mantras, he may use the mantras like 'Viṣṇave namaḥ,' 'Brahmaṇe namaḥ' etc., or he may 'worship his god according to his own initiation if it is not contradictory to the Vedas' [3]. Though the *Madana-pārijāta* thus appears to recognise the non-Vedic initiation, it does not recognise the authorities of the Tantras, the authoritative works quoted by it being the Dharmaśāstras and the Purāṇas.

(4) 1400-1500 A. D.

Of the Nibandhas belonging to this period, we shall examine the *Nityācāra-paddhati* of Vidyākara Vājapeyin, the *Vrata-kāla-viveka* and the *Durgotsava-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi and the *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspatimiśra.

The *Nityācāra-paddhati* of Vidyākara Vajapeyin (1370-1500 A. D.)

The *Nityācārapaddhati*[4] of Vidyākara Vājapeyin, who is one of the most noted Nibandhakāras of Orissa, deals with the morning duties of the people, the sacraments from impregnation to marriage, maintaining the sacred fires, muttering gāyatrī and the

1 Kane, *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 381-2.

2 Published in the Bibl. Ind. Series, Calcutta.

3 Evam itareṣām apī Brahmādīnāṁ pūjanaṁ kāryaṁ tat-tat-prakārair Vaidikair-mantraiḥ | tad-aśaktau tat-tan-nāmadheya-mantrair namo'ntaiḥ pūjayet | athavā Vedāviruddha-svadīkṣānusāreṇa vā devatārcanaṁ | *Madana-pārijāta*, p. 300.

4 Published in the Bibl. Ind. Series, Calcutta.

praṇava, painting the seat-marks, the characteristics of the akṣa-mālā, the determination of the places for the nyāsas, the different kinds of initiation, the method of puraścaraṇa, the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and others, the different kinds of vratas, and so forth.

Though Vidyākara calls himself an 'agnicit' at the colophon of his work[1] and seems to belong to the school of the Vājasaneyins,[2] his work is highly imbued with Tantric elements. On the authority of the *Varāha-P.*, the *Mahābhārata*, Yogi-Yājñavalkya, the *Āditya-P.*, Atri and the *Devī-P.*, Vidyākara establishes the authoritativeness of the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās.[3] He explains the verse

'alābhe Vaidikānāṁ-ca Pañcarātroditena ye |
ācāreṇa prapadyante te mām-āpsyanti mānavāḥ ||

of the *Varāha-P.* to mean that the directions of the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās can be followed even by those who are entitled to follow the Vedic method.[4] According to him, the authority of the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās cannot be rejected as non-Vedic, because 'in the Pāñcarātra (Saṁhitās) there is not even any possibility of contempt to the Vedas, the Vedic mantras etc. being accepted in all cases.'[5]

In the *Nityācārapaddhati* the use of the sectarian mantras 'namo Vāsudevāya', 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' etc. and the performance of the nyāsas and mudrās are required both in the Vedic and the non-Vedic acts. A long quotation is given on kāmya samudra-snāna. This bath requires the drawing of a maṇḍala in which the eight syllables of the sectarian mantra 'Om namo

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1 iti śrīmad-agnicid-Vidyākara-Vājapeyi-kṛtau Nityācāre * * *.

2 Cf. tāta-pāda-padāmbhojam natvā Vājasaneyināṁ |
nityārthāhnika-kṛtyāni likhyante tat-prasādataḥ |
Nityācārapaddhati p. 2.

3 *Nityācārapaddhati*, pp. 506f.

4 ata eva- 'alābhe Vaidikānāñ-ca * * * * ' iti yat tatraivoktaṁ tatra Vaidika-vidhyasambhave'pi Pañcarātrokta-vidhimātreṇa Bhagavat-prāptiḥ kimucyate tat-sambhava iti Pañcarātra-praśaṁsevārtho na tu Vaidikānadhikāriṇa eva tatrādhikāra iti.— Ibid. p. 507.

5 na hi Pañcarātre Veda-vidveṣa-sambhāvanāpyasti sarvatra Vaidika-mantrādi-parigrahāt |
Nityācārapaddhati, p. 508.

Nārāyaṇāya ' are to be placed; the performance of aṅga-nyāsa and kara-nyāsa with the syllables of the above mentioned mantra; the Nārāyaṇa-kavaca; the identification of one's own self with Hari; the salutation to the King of the holy places (i. e. the sea) with the mantra ' tvam agniḥ. ' etc; and so forth. After bath Vāsudeva is to be worshipped with the mūla-mantra in a lotus (padma) drawn in a small square. This lotus should have filaments and eight petals and the eight syllables of the mantra are to be placed on it.[1]

Vidyākara recognises three kinds of Viṣṇu-worship—Vedic, Tantric and mixed (miśra)[2]. He holds that in the morning worship of Viṣṇu, the method of the Pāñcarātras must be followed by those who are initiated to the worship of the god but the mid-day worship is always to be done with the Puruṣa-sūkta[3]. The Pāñcarātra method of worship is not, however, compulsory with those who are not initiated Vaiṣṇavas[4]. Vidyākara next gives, in pp. 513–554, a detailed description of the Pāñcarātra method of Viṣṇu-worship on the authority of the Tantras such as the *Jñānārṇava, Śāradātilaka, Prapañcasāra,* commentary called *Jñānasvarūpa* on the *Prapañcasāra* and *Nāradīya-kalpa,* all of which are drawn upon. This method of worship invloves the frequent performance of the nyāsas (viz: mātṛkā-nyāsa, lipi-nyāsa, tattva-nyāsa etc.), purification of the hands with the astra-mantra,

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1 Ibid., pp. 108–110.

2 Vaidikas-Tāntriko miśro Viṣṇor vai trividho makhaḥ l
trayāṇām īpsitenaika-vidhinā Harim arcayet ॥
Ibid., p. 510.

3 smaranti ca—
'prātas tu pūjayed Viṣṇuṁ Pañcarātra-vidhānataḥ l
madhyāhne tvarcayen nityaṁ sūktena Puruṣasya ca ॥
* * * * *
Ibid., p. 511;
* gṛhīta-Bhagavad-dīkṣeṇa Pañcarātrokta-vidhinā avaśyaṃ pūjā kāryā * p. 507.

4 Cf. ' mama Śāstraṁ vahiṣkṛtya asmākaṁ ya ' ityādi-vākye gṛhīta-Viṣṇu-dīkṣasya Vaiṣṇavasyaivāvaśyakaḥ Pañcarātra-vidhir nānyeṣāṁ l p. 511. We speak of ' initiated Vaiṣṇavas ' because Vidyākara mentions some people who were neither purely Vaiṣṇava nor purely Śaiva but were equally devoted to the two gods. Cf. *Nityācāra-pad.,* p. 155.

striking the palms thrice against each other, blocking the quarters, purification of the elements, performance of the mudrās (viz: dhenu-mudrā, yoni-mudrā, śaṅkha-mudrā etc.), the worship of the nine Śaktis, and the use of the Tantric mantras at every step. It is not that the Tantric elements figure prominently in the Viṣṇu-worship alone. The worship of Śiva also is imbued with Tantric rituals, the authorities quoted being the *Mantrāvalī*, the *Prapañcasāra* and the *Liṅga-P.*[1] The worship of Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Brahmā and others also are not free from Tantric elements, though they are mainly Puranic. In the Durgā-pūjā, which is Śākta, the worship of the sword and the animal for sacrifice is to be done after the Tantrikas, the Tantric mantras and processes being employed.[2] The medium of worship should be a liṅga, pādukā, pratimā, citra, triśikha, khaḍga, jala or hṛdaya.[3]

Vidyākara has great faith in the sanctifying power of the sect-marks ūrddhvapuṇḍra, tripuṇḍra and others resembling the bamboo-leaves, lamps, lotus-buds etc. The first two are as compulsory (nitya) for the sectaries as the sacred thread (yajñopavītavat nityaṁ dhāryaṁ-p. 148). The ūrddhvapuṇḍra is meant for the Vaiṣṇavas and the tripuṇḍra, for the Śaivas. The Vaiṣṇavas can also paint the latter along with the former. The painting of the other sect-marks is based on usage (samācārāt). The painting of these sect-marks is to be attended with kara-śuddhi, nyāsa and the citation of Tantric mantras.[4] The Vaiṣṇavas are further required to paint on their body the figures of the weapons (conch, disc, club etc.) and different incarnations (Fish, Tortoise, Boar etc.) of Viṣṇu with wooden blocks. Such painting, it is believed, makes Viṣṇu reside in the body of the devotee.[5]

The Vaiṣṇavas are directed to wear wreaths made of tulasī wood, dhātrī fruit, padmākṣa, or rudrākṣa. Before use the rudrākṣas are to be purified by muttering the Tantric spells 'Oṁ hrīṁ hrīṁ huṁ luṁ' etc. hundred and eight times on each of them.[6]

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1 Ibid., pp. 555-575.
2 Ibid., pp. 609-612.
3 Ibid., p. 579.
4 Ibid., p. 356.
5 Ibid., p. 153-'sva-dehe yo likhen mūrtiṁ Matsya-Kūrmādikīṁ mama | dehe tasya praviṣṭo' haṁ śuddhis-tasya tu sarvadā ||
6 Ibid., p. 161.

Vidyākara believes deeply in the powers of the nyāsas and mudrās. He says "One should place the syallables of the mantra for endowing oneself successfully with divinity. The rākṣasas take away (the fruits of) those acts which are not accompanied with the nyāsas." [1] It is undoubtedly due to this belief that the nyāsas are often directed to be performed. The worship of the gods and the saṁdhyā require the performance of the nyāsas; the painting of the sect-marks is to be attended with nyāsa, kara-śuddhi etc.; the muttering of the praṇava after smārta-homa is to be preceded with prāṇāyāma, aṅga-nyāsa, kara-nyāsa, kavaca and dig-vandhana; [2] bhūta-śuddhi, nyāsa etc. are to be performed before muttering the sectarian mantras; [3] the Brahma-yāga requires nyāsa; [4] the prapañca-yāga also requires lipi-nyāsa (with the citation of Tantric bījas), tattva-nyāsa, aṅga-nyāsa, kara-nyāsa, vyāpaka-nyāsa and mudrā; [5] in case of mistake in japa, ācamana and nyāsa are to be performed before resuming it; and so forth.

Vidyākara recognises both the Tantric and the Puranic initiation. The former is of four kinds Kriyāvatī, Varṇamayī, Kalāvatī and Vedhamayī. Vidyākara describes the methods of these initiations by quoting numerous verses from the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās and the Tantras. [6] The mantra to be imparted to the disciple is to undergo puraścaraṇa, because the mantra which has not undergone puraścaraṇa is as worthless as a lifeless body. [7] Drāvaṇa, bodhana, vaśīkaraṇa, pīḍana, śoṣaṇa etc. also are required for mantra-siddhi.

Though Vidyākara himself is not free from Tantric influence, he does not support the anti-Vedic rites and customs of the

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1 mantrākṣarāṇi vinyased devatā-bhāva-siddhaye |
karmaṇo nyāsahīnasya gṛhnanty-eva hi rākṣasāḥ ||
Ibid., p. 401.

2 Ibid., pp. 378-9.

3 Ibid., p. 388.

4 Ibid., p. 395.

5 Ibid., pp. 396f.

6 Ibid., pp. 435f.

7 jīvahīno yathā dehī sarva-karmasu na kṣamaḥ |
puraścaraṇahīno'pi tathā mantro'pi kīrtitaḥ ||
Ibid., p. 454.

Tantras. On the authority of the Purāṇas, the *Mahābhārata* and Yogi-Yāj., he classes the anti-Vedic Vāma-Pāśupatas with the untouchables.[1]

The works of Śūlapāṇi (1375-1460 A. D.)

Śūlapāṇi, who is one of the most noted Smṛti-writers of Bengal, is the author of a good number of Smṛti works of varying lengths, viz. *Prāyaścitta-viveka*, *Śrāddha-viveka*, *Dolayātrā-viveka*, *Sambandha-viveka*, *Tithi-viveka*, *Durgotsava-viveka*, *Vāsantī-viveka*, *Vratakāla-viveka*, *Rāsayātrā-viveka* and *Saṃkrānti-viveka*. He has also written a concise commentary, named Dīpa-kalikā, on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti*. The Mss. of all these works are available in the Dacca University Library.

Except the *Vratakāla* and the *Durgotsava-viveka*, none of the remaining works of Śūlapāṇi betray any Tantric influence. There is also no reference to or quotation from any Saṁhitā, Āgama or Tantra in these latter works. In the *Vratakāla-viveka*,[2] on the other hand, verses have been quoted from the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra* and the *Īśāna-saṁhitā* in connection with the proper time for the Śivarātri-vrata.[3] In the *Durgotsavā-vivekā*[4] Śūlapāṇi quotes the Tantras and the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās[5] to support or supplement the directions of the Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas which he has generally followed in his work. For example, the *Matsya-sūkta* is quoted to enumerate the places where the worship of the Devī is forbidden; the *Śāradā-tilaka* is quoted for the mantra used in the consecration of the image; the '*Tantra*' for a different composition of the pañca-gavya; the *Nāradīya-kalpa* for a list of the 'nine gems'; the *Mahākapila-pañcarātra* and the *Kāpila-pañcarātra* in connection with homa and homa-kuṇḍa; and so forth. These quotations and the use of the Tantric mantras very often in worship, prove that Śūlapāṇi recognises the authority of the Tantras and the Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās at least in religious matters.

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1 Ibid., pp. 127-8.

2 Dacca University Ms. No. 1578C.

3 *Vratakāla-viveka*, fols. 7b and 8b.

4 Published by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta.

5 Viz. *Matsya-sūkta*, *Śāradā-tilaka*, *Gavāmṛta-tantra*, *Tantra*, *Nāradīya-kalpa*, *Mahākapila-pañcarātra*, and *Kāpila-pañcarātra*.

Of the Purāṇas and the Upa-purāṇas, Śūlapāṇi quotes the *Bhaviṣya, Kālikā, Bhaviṣyottara, Devī, Liṅga, Skanda, Nandikeśvara, Bṛhat-Nandikeśvara, Nandi, Bhāgavata, Brahma, Agni, Viṣṇu-dharmottara* and *Śiva-rahasya*. Of these the *Bhaviṣya*, the *Kālikā* and the *Devī-P.* have been drawn upon more frequently than the others. One of the quotations made from the *Kālikā-P.* is important in that by it Śūlapāṇi, unlike Raghunandana, supports the use of wine in the worship of the goddess. [1]

The *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācasapatimiśra (1425–1480 A. D.)

Vācaspatimiśra, the foremost Smṛti-writer of Mithilā, is the author of a large number of Smṛti works, of which the Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi is one. Though in the Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi (ASB ed.), the author deals with the holy places as described in the Purāṇas, it is not totally free from Tantric elements. It has long quotations from the *Brahma-P.* on sea-bath and the subsequent worship of Nārāyaṇa. The bath requires aṅga-nyāsa, kara-nyāsa and Nārāyaṇa-kavaca. The worship requires a maṇḍala containing the fiture of a lotus, purification of the body, aṅga-nyāsa, kara-nyāsa, dig-bandhana, mudras etc. Though these practices are originally Tantric, they have been puranised. The mantra used for the nyāsas is the sectarian one 'Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇāya'. The mantras for invocation etc. are purely Purāṇic, the mystic monosyllabic terms being seldom used. In the *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi* there are also references to the worship of Śiva and Sūrya. In these worships, Vācaspati holds after the *Brahma-P.*, the Āgamic and Tantric mantras may respectively be used in place of the Vedic. [2]

That Vācaspatimiśra admits the authority of the Tantras at least in religious matters is evidenced by his quotations from the *Rāmārcana-candrikā* and the *Kulārṇava-tantra* in the section on the worship of the goddess Vāsantī in the *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi*.

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1 vihitāvihita-valim-āha Kālikā-purāṇam—

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kuṣmāṇḍam-ikṣu-daṇḍaṁ ca madyam āsavam-eva ca ।
ete vali-samā jñeyās tṛptau chāga-samāḥ smṛtāḥ ।

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Durgotsava-viveka, pp. 18–19.

2 *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, pp. 185 and 187.

महाभारतसंबन्धे कश्चन विचारः*

मान्यवर श्रीयुत राजगुरु हेमराजपण्डित, नेपाल

आदिपर्वणि (१·५६·१९)† अन्तपर्वणि च " जयो नामेतिहासोऽयम् " इति लेखेन जयनामको भारतमहाभारतयोर्मूलग्रन्थो व्यासरचित आसीत् । यस्य पुनः पुनः संस्करणेन भारतमहाभारतरूपता संपन्नेति श्रीयुतचिन्तामणि विनायक वैद्यैर्यद्विचारितं तत्र किंचिदुच्यते ।

भारतस्य विस्तृतस्वरूपकं महाभारतमित्यत्र न विसंवादः । द्वैपायनेनोपाख्यानरहितं चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रं भारतं रचितम् । तत्र नानोपाख्यानादिसहित्येन महाभारतं संपन्नमिति आदिपर्वप्रथमाध्यायश्लोकेभ्यो (६१) विशेषतोऽन्तरा प्रविष्टश्लोकरहितेभ्यो 'ग'पुस्तकपाठश्लोकेभ्यो व्यक्तमेव भविष्यति । न तु भारतान्महाभारताच्च भिन्नो जयनामको ग्रन्थो द्वैपायनकृत इत्यत्र ग्रन्थे पुराणान्तरेषु काव्यनाटकादिषु वा क्वचिदुल्लेखो दृश्यते । नीलकण्ठोक्तरीत्या जयशब्दस्य विष्णुधर्मादिग्रन्थान्तरसाधारणत्वसम्प्यायाति । येन पुराणान्तरेष्वप्यादौ

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

इति श्लोकोल्लेखः संगच्छते । "जयो नामेतिहासोऽयम्" (१·५६·१९) इति लेखेनैतदितिहासस्यैव जयत्वे स्वीक्रियमाणेऽपि आदि० ५६ अध्याये वैशंपायनोक्तौ

इदं शतसहस्रं हि श्लोकानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् । १२
जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा । १३

इति स्वर्गारोहणपर्वणि ५ अध्याये सूतोक्तौ

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* The article printed above, which not only discusses some interesting problems connected with the history of the Mahābhārata but also draws attention to the light which some Nepālī MSS.— especially MS. ग = N1 of the Critical Edition— throw on the text of the Mahābhārata, was received by me from the Manyavara Rajguru Hemraj Pandit, C. I. E., of Nepal as early as 1927, in the form of a private letter addressed to me. On account of its great general interest and importance, I thought it ought to be published, and when the Panditji paid an informal visit to the Institute on 28th March 1935 I prevailed upon him, with great difficulty, to publish it in these *Annals*. It is being printed as it was received by me in 1927. — V. S. Sukthankar.

† एताः पर्वाध्यायश्लोकसंख्याः एतत्संस्था(B.O.R.I.)प्रकाशितपुस्तकानुसारेण निर्दिष्टाः ।

आकर्ण्य भक्त्या सततं जयाख्यं भारतं महत् ।
जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो मोक्षमिच्छता ॥

इति वैशंपायनसूताभ्यां शतसाहस्रस्य महादिति विशेषितस्य भारतस्यापि जयत्वं स्पष्टमुल्लिखितम् । "ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय" इति मन्त्रारब्धमहाभारतस्य सर्वादौ

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

इति श्लोकेन वक्ष्यमाणग्रन्थस्य जयत्वोदीरणेनापि सांप्रतिकोपलब्धमहाभारतस्यापि जयत्वं सुस्पष्टमेव । पाण्डवविजयेतिहासतया भारतस्य महाभारतस्य च जयनाम्ना व्यवहारो युज्यते च । इत्थं च भारतमहाभारतयोः कर्तृतया द्वैपायनवैशंपायनयोः स्पष्टतया लाभेन जयनामकं ग्रन्थान्तरं द्वैपायनकृतामिति वर्णयितुं कथं नाम शक्येत् । जयशब्दस्य च भारतमहाभारतपुराणादिसाधारण्यव्यापकशब्दत्वं किं वा भारतमहाभारतपर्यायशब्दत्वमेवायाति । न तु ग्रन्थान्तरपरत्वम् । यतश्चाश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रे कलिकातासंस्करणपाठे भारतमहाभारतयोर्द्वयोरेवोल्लेखः । न तु जयाख्यस्य तृतीयस्याप्युल्लेखः । यदि नामाभविष्यत्तदोदलेखिष्यत । वैशंपायनेन वर्ण्यमाने ५६ अध्यायेऽन्यत्र च इदं महाभारतमिति उल्लेखेन वैशंपायनावस्थायामापि महाभारतत्वेन व्यवहारः । न तु सूतावस्थायामेव । गीतारहस्ये (५१९ पृ०) अपि भारतस्यैव प्राचीनं नामान्तरं जय इति दर्शितम् । न च भारतमहाभारतभिन्नं किंचन ग्रन्थान्तरं जयनामकं तृतीयमभिप्रेतं तिलकमहाशयानाम् ॥

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जयग्रन्थं पृथक्त्वेन कल्पयित्वा तदीयश्लोकपरिमाणचर्चायां "अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि" इति श्लोकमवलम्ब्य ८८०० श्लोकात्मकत्वामिति कथमं तु प्रथमतो जयग्रन्थस्यैव प्रमाणाभावादसिद्धेः, तदुपरि अत्रोपलब्धेषु (क. ख. ग. घ. ङ. च. छ.) पुस्तकेषु सर्वेषु "तदाख्यानवरिष्ठं" इत्यारभ्य "अच्छेद्यममरैरपि" इत्यन्तस्य गणेशोपाख्यानादिपरग्रन्थस्यैवाभावेन विचारणेऽपि तत्प्रघट्टस्य पश्चादन्तःप्रवेशदर्शनेन प्रक्षिप्ततासिद्धेस्तदन्तर्गततया महाभारते तावत्परिमितकूटश्लोकामामनुपलम्भेन चात्मलाभमेवाप्राप्नवता सत्त्वेऽपि दुर्ज्ञेयश्लोकसंख्यानमात्रपरेण तेन श्लोकेन जयग्रन्थपरिमाणवर्णनं गन्धर्वनगरविहारायितमिति मूलोच्छिन्नमेव ॥

* * * *

भारते नामोपाख्यानादिसाहित्येन विस्तृतं लक्षप्रमाणं महाभारतं द्वैपायनेन वैशंपायनेन सूतेन वा केन संपादितामिति विचार्यमाणे यद्यपि पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तकानुसारिपाठावलम्बने

इदं शतसहस्रं हि श्लोकानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् । १·२७*

इत्यादिवाक्यदर्शनेन प्रथमतः शतसाहस्रमुपाख्यानसहितमार्षं भारतम् । ततो

निरुपाख्यानं चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रं भारतम् । ततस्ततोऽपि संक्षिप्तमनुक्रमणिकारूपमध्यर्द्धशतं (१·१·६२) च द्वैपायनेनैव त्रिधा रचितमित्यापाततः प्रतीयते । पश्चादपि

इदं शतसहस्रं तु व्यासेनोक्तं महात्मना ।

इति स्थलस्थलगतवाक्यैः पर्वसंग्रहाध्यायगतश्लोकपरिगणनास्थलीयवाक्यैरपि शतसाहस्रं व्यासकृतमित्यत्रोपोद्बल्यते । तथापि "इदं शतसहस्रम्" इति श्लोकस्य "षष्टिं शतसहस्राणि" इत्यारभ्य "वैशंपायन उक्तवान्" इत्यन्तस्य च पूर्वापरोक्तिविसंवादेनैकवाक्यतामनापन्नस्य श्लोकस्य 'ग'पुस्तकेऽप्यलाभेन प्रक्षिप्तत्वस्य वक्तव्यतया तद्विनाभूतेन 'ग'पुस्तकीयपाठेन निरुपाख्यानचतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रभारतस्य तत्संक्षेपरूपानुक्रमणिकायाश्चैव व्यासकृतत्वोपठम्भेन पश्चात्स्थले स्थले वैशंपायनोक्तौ

कृष्णद्वैपायनमतं महाभारतमादितः । १·५३·३५

इत्यादिरीत्या बहुशो व्यासमतत्वोल्लेखदर्शनेन ५५ अध्यायोत्तरं व्यासोक्तत्वेन प्रतिपाद्यमानेऽपि ग्रन्थे जनमेजयवैशंपायनोक्तिप्रत्युक्तिवाक्यानां बहुलतयोपलम्भेन आरम्भे ऋषिसूतसंवादस्थले (१·१·१५–१९) श्लोकलेखेन द्वैपायनप्रोक्तस्य भारतस्य संस्कारोपगतां नानाशास्त्रोपबृंहितां लक्षग्रन्थार्थसंहितां यां जनमेजयसत्रे द्वैपायनाज्ञया वैशंपायन उक्तवान् तां शतसाहस्रसंख्यकां भारतीं संहितां श्रोतुमिच्छामः इति प्रश्नदर्शनाद् द्वैपायनकृतस्य भारतत्वम्, तस्यैव संस्कारेण उपबृंहणेन च लक्षसंख्यां प्रापितस्य वैशंपायनेनोक्तत्वम्, तस्यैवोपबृंहितस्य सूतसकाशादृषीणां श्रवणेच्छेति स्पष्टं लाभेन च व्यासोक्तभारतस्योपबृंहणेन लक्षग्रन्थात्मकं महाभारतं वैशंपायनेन संपादितमिति कथयितुं शक्यते । स्थले स्थले शतसाहस्रस्य व्यासोक्तत्वोल्लेखश्च

तदस्मै सर्वमाचक्ष्व यन्मत्तः श्रुतवानसि । १·५४·२२

इति व्यासाज्ञया प्रेरितेन वैशंपायनेन

प्रवक्ष्यामि मतं कृत्स्नं व्यासस्यामिततेजसः । १·५५·२

इति कथनारम्भेण उपबृंहणरूपाणामुपाख्यानानामपि वैशंपायनेन द्वैपायनसकाशादेवाधिगततया द्वैपायनस्यैव मूलोपदेशकत्वेन तन्मतावहिर्भावमभिप्रेत्यैव कृत इति गम्यते । अत एव व्यासस्य मतं द्वैपायनमतमिति स्थले स्थले उल्लेखोऽपि स्पष्टं युज्यते ।

व्यासस्त्वकथयच्चित्रमाख्यानं भारतं महत् ।

श्रावयामास इत्याद्यप्यन्तर्भावितणिजर्थकमभिप्रेत्य वैशंपायनद्वारा व्यासोक्तत्वं प्रयुक्तं परंपराकर्तृत्वमेव बोधयतीति नीलकण्ठोक्तवदुक्तव्यमेव । अन्यथा द्वैपा-

यनाङ्गया वैशंपायनेन शतसाहस्रग्रन्थप्रवचनारम्भवाक्येन सह विरोधो दुष्परिहरः स्यात् ॥

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एकं शतसहस्रं तु मयोक्तं वै निबोधत । १·३०*

इति सूतवाक्यदर्शनेन सूत एव लक्षसंख्यमहाभारतस्य कर्तेति तु वक्तुं न शक्यते । 'ग'पुस्तकीयपाठे " अस्मिंस्तु मानुषे लोके " इत्यारभ्य " मयोक्तं वै निबोधत " इत्यन्तवाक्यस्यैवाभावेन लक्षं सूतोक्तमिति मूलोच्छिन्नमेव । मुद्रित-पुस्तकानुसारेण तत्पाठसत्त्वाभ्युपगमेऽपि मयोक्तमित्यत्र सूतेनोक्तमित्यर्थेन सूतोक्तस्य लक्षग्रन्थत्वे

एकं शतसहस्रं तु मानुषेषु प्रतिष्ठितम् । १·२९*

अस्मिंस्तु मानुषे लोके वैशंपायन उक्तवान् । १·३०*

इति मनुष्यलोके एकशतसहस्रं वैशंपायनोक्तामिति पूर्वं स्पष्टं प्रतिपादनात्तेन सह कथं न विरोधः । तेन वैशंपायनोक्तस्यैव सूतेन प्रतिपाद्यमानत्वात् इति-शब्दं पूरयित्वा एकं शतसहस्रं मया वैशंपायनेनोक्तं निबोधतेति वैशंपायन उक्तवानिति किं वा मयेत्यस्य सूतेनेत्यर्थकरणेऽपि मया सूतेनोक्तं शतसहस्रं वैशंपायन उक्तवानिति निबोधत इति पूर्वान्वयी अर्थः । एतच्छ्लोकस्य व्याख्यायां नीलकण्ठेनापि 'मयोच्यमानं वैशंपायनेनोक्तं निबोधत' इत्यर्थः कृतः । किं वा यत्तत्पूरणेन अस्मिन्मानुषे लोके वैशंपायनो यदुक्तवान् तन्मयोक्तं निबोधत इत्यर्थः करणीयः । अन्यथा पूर्वापरविरोधः कथं परिहियेत । इत्येतच्छ्लोकपाठस्य सत्त्वेऽसत्त्वेऽपि

जनमेजयस्य यां राज्ञो वैशंपायन उक्तवान् । १·१·१८
संहितां श्रोतुमिच्छामः शतसाहस्रसंख्यकाम् ।

इति पूर्वग्रन्थानुसारेण लक्षग्रंथो वैशंपायनावस्थायामेव संपन्न इति ग्रन्थ-मर्यादया स्पष्टमायाति । वैशंपायनोत्तरं च सूतेन तच्छिष्येण वा सूतशौनकादि-संवादरूपेण पूर्वोपोद्घातग्रन्थ उपसंहारग्रन्थश्च संपूरितः । अन्यथा आद्यन्त-भागयोर्यथा संनिवेशितं तथैव मध्येऽपि स्वमाहात्म्यख्यापनाय उपबृंहणांशे सूत उवाचेति स्वस्यैव वक्तृतया कीर्तनं तेन कथं न क्रियेत । ततश्चास्तीकपर्वान्तो-पोद्घातग्रन्थ उपसंहारग्रन्थश्च वैशंपायनोत्तरं सूतेन तच्छिष्येण वा पूरितः इति लक्ष्यते ॥

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मन्वादि भारतं केचिदास्तीकादि तथापरे ।
तथोपरिचरायन्ये विप्राः सम्यगधीयते ॥ १·१·५०

इति श्लोके त्रिधा ग्रन्थारम्भोल्लेखं साधकत्वेनाऽवलम्ब्य तत्तदारम्भमादाय त्रयः कर्तार इति यदुच्यते तत्रापि किंचिदभिधीयते ।

व्यासस्य भारतारम्भो राजोपरिचर (१·५७·१) इत्यादिकः, वैशंपायनस्य महाभारतारम्भोऽपि व्यासोक्तस्यैव वैशंपायनेन प्रतिपाद्यमानत्वोक्त्या तदुपरि प्रस्तावनारूपभारतसूत्रभारतप्रशंसारूपाध्यायद्वयसाहित्येन "गुरवे प्राङ्मुखस्कृत्य"(१·५५·१) इत्यादिकः, उपरिचरादिकग्रन्थस्यैव तत्पूर्वोपोद्घातरूपाध्यायद्वयन्यूनाधिक्येन व्यासीयभारतस्य वैशंपायनीयमहाभारतस्य चारम्भरूपतया नारम्भभेदः । सूतसमयारम्भस्य अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायसाहित्येन मनुपदस्य द्वादशाक्षरमन्त्रपरत्वम् अथ वा वैवस्वतार्थपरत्वमङ्गीकृत्य तदादिकत्वं वक्तव्यम् । आस्तीकपर्वारम्भे तु न ग्रन्थारम्भवाक्यं किमपि । प्रत्युत पौलोमारम्भे अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायारम्भतुल्यतया ग्रन्थारम्भगद्यवाक्यसत्त्वेन तस्य ग्रन्थादित्वं वक्तुं युज्यते, इत्यास्तीकादित्वं सूतवैशंपायनव्यासेषु कस्य पक्षमादाय कथ्येत । वैशंपायनोक्तसंहिताश्रवणप्रश्नप्रतिवचनरूपेणायातस्य "आद्यं पुरुषमीशानम्" (१·१·८०) इत्यादिग्रन्थस्य वैशंपायनग्रन्थीयभावानुवादशब्दानुवादान्यतररूपतायां वक्तव्यतया वैशंपायनवाक्यकक्षारूढत्वेन तदन्तःपातिन्यस्मिन् श्लोके सूतसामयिकमन्वादिपक्षकीर्तनस्य कथं वा युक्तता । तेनारम्भभेदेन कर्तृभेदपर्यवसायी नायं श्लोकः । मन्वादि भारतं केचिदधीयते । केचिदास्तीकादि अधीयते । अन्ये उपरिचरादिकमधीयते । इत्युक्त्या भारतस्य महाभारतस्य च मुख्यारम्भभूतमुपरिचरादिकमाश्रित्य भारताध्ययनमिति केचित् । सर्पसत्राख्यानस्यापि तदुपोद्घातरूपतया तेन सहाश्रित्य भारताध्ययनमिति केचित् । पूर्वोक्तमन्वारब्धानुक्रमणिकाध्यायभूतसंक्षिप्तभारतेन सहाश्रित्य भारताध्ययनमिति केचिदिति दृष्टिभेदाभिप्रायेणाध्ययनप्रकारत्रैविध्यबोधनेनोच्यते । कर्तृभेदावसायित्वं नाक्षरमर्यादया युक्तिमर्यादयाप्यायाति ।

वस्तुतो मन्वादीति श्लोकतः पूर्वोत्तरयोः श्लोकयोः समासव्यासरूपेण कथनस्योपपादकतया एकवाक्यतामापन्नयोर्मध्ये तदेकवाक्यतानापन्नोऽयं श्लोकोऽसाङ्गत्यान्मध्येऽप्रविष्ट एव शोभते । आस्तीकारम्भस्यादित्वं न वा ग्रन्थमर्यादया सिद्ध्यति । प्रत्युत तत्स्थाने पौलोमादित्वं वक्तुं शक्येत । इति कर्तृत्रयसाधनायैतच्छ्लोकावलम्बनं न सुदृढावलम्बनमिति भाति । मन्वादीति श्लोकेन आरम्भत्रयबोधने इव अध्ययनप्रकारत्रैविध्यबोधने वर्ण्यमानेऽपि वैशंपायनीयवाक्यानुवादग्रन्थमध्ये मन्वादिपक्षस्य प्रवेशायोग्यत्वेन सूतवाक्यत्वाभ्युपगमेऽपि तदीयलेखसिद्ध्युत्तरमेव मन्वादिपक्षोल्लेखस्य युक्तत्वेन सूतसामयिकमन्वादिपक्षघटितस्यास्य श्लोकस्य सत्त्वं न युज्यते ॥

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पौष्यपौलोमास्तीकपर्वग्रन्थो हि व्यासाज्ञाप्रेरितवैशंपायनकृतप्रवचनारम्भात्पूर्ववर्तित्वात् तावद्भागे वैशंपायन उवाचेत्यस्यानुपलम्भात् पौष्यादास्तीकान्त-

ग्रन्थस्यापि व्यासीयत्वे वैशंपायनीयत्वे वा राजोपरिचर (१·५७·१) इत्याद्यध्याया-त्पूर्वतने ५६तमे प्रशंसाध्याये इदं भारतं महाभारतमिति वक्ष्यमाणं निर्दिश्य तन्माहात्म्यवर्णनस्य तदीयकथासंग्रहस्य च मध्ये प्रवेशानौचित्यात् सर्पसत्रावसरे कुरुपाण्डवचरितविषयकजनमेजयप्रश्नोत्तरं व्यासोक्तभारतानुसारिमहाभारते वैशंपायनेनोच्यमाने सोपोद्घातसर्पसत्रीयवृत्तान्ताख्यानस्यायुक्तत्वाच्च भारतमहाभारतसंम्पत्त्युत्तरमुपोद्घातरूपेण सूतेन तच्छिष्येण वा पश्चाद्योजित इति वक्तव्यम्।

यत्तु शौनकसत्रे ते भारताख्यानविस्तरम्। १·२·२९
जनमेजयस्य तत्सत्रे व्यासशिष्येण धीमता।
कथितं विस्तरार्थं च यशोवीर्यं महीक्षिताम्॥ १·७४*
पौष्यं तत्र च पौलोममास्तीकं चादितः स्मृतम्।

इति वैशंपायनोक्तविस्तृतभारताख्यानस्यादौ पौष्यपौलोमास्तीकोपाख्यानानि स्मृतानि। अर्थात् भारतमहाभारतकथोत्थानाय पूर्वपीठिकारूपेण तदादौ योजितानीति स्पष्टोक्त्या तावद्भागस्य पश्चाद्योजितत्वं ग्रन्थाक्षरैरेव लभ्यते च। यद्यप्येतावद्ग्रन्थस्य भारतमहाभारतान्तर्गतत्वेऽभ्युपगम्यमानेऽपि तस्यादित्वं वक्तुं शक्यते तथापि तावद्ग्रन्थस्य ग्रन्थान्तर्गतादित्वे एतदाद्दितः स्मृतामिति कथनस्य निष्प्रयोजनत्वात् पूर्वोक्तयुक्तिभिर्व्यासवैशंपायनभारतमहाभारतान्तर्गतादिग्रन्थत्वस्य तत्र वक्तुमशक्यत्वाच्च ग्रन्थबहिर्भूतमेवादित्वमनेनोच्यते। इदानींतनमुद्यमाणभूमिकावत्पृथगविधाय नाटकीयप्रस्तावनावत् ग्रन्थेन सहैव संयोज्यैतावान्भागः प्रवेशितः। ५३ अध्याये ३२ श्लोके 'ग'पुस्तकपाठानुसारेण

महाभारतमाद्यन्तं पाण्डवानां यशस्करम्।
जनमेजयेन पृष्टः सन्कृष्णद्वैपायनस्तदा॥

इति जनमेजयप्रश्नोत्तरं द्वैपायनेन वैशंपायनद्वारा वर्णितस्य आदितोऽन्तपर्यन्तस्य महाभारतस्य श्रवणजिज्ञासा। तत्रैवानन्तरं

हन्त ते कथयिष्यामि ... महाभारतमादितः। १·५३·३५

इति आदिमारभ्य प्रवचनप्रतिज्ञा इति दर्शनेनापि आदिवंशावतारमारभ्यैव भारतस्य महाभारतस्य चारम्भ इति सिद्ध्यति। आद्यन्तमित्यस्य स्थाने आख्यानमिति पाठेऽपि पूर्वापरदर्शनेन इत आरभ्यैव प्रवचनमित्येवायाति। वक्ष्यमाणरीत्या तत्तत्प्राथमिकपर्वनामानुसारिण्यष्टादशपर्वविभागे आदिरं(वं)शावतारमादाय आदिपर्वेति नामाख्यानमपि इतः पूर्वतनग्रन्थस्य पश्चाद्योजनां बोधयति। पर्वसंग्रहाध्याये

पौष्यं पौलोममास्तीकमादिवंशावतारणम्।
संभवो जतुवेश्मास्यं हिडिम्बबकयोर्वधः॥
तथा चैत्ररथं देव्याः पाञ्चाल्याश्च स्वयंवरः।
क्षात्रधर्मेण निर्जित्य ततो वैवाहिकं स्मृतम्॥

विदुरागमनं चैव राज्यलम्भस्तथैव च।
वनवासोऽर्जुनस्यापि सुभद्राहरणं ततः॥
हरणाहरणं चैव दहनं खाण्डवस्य च।
मयस्य दर्शनं चैव आदिपर्वणि कथ्यते॥ १·९३*

इत्युक्त्या पौष्यपौलोमास्तीकग्रन्थानामपि आदिपर्वान्तर्गतत्वेनोल्लेखेऽपि तत्रैवोत्तरश्लोके

यजतः सर्पसत्रेण राज्ञः पारीक्षितस्य ह।
कथेयमभिनिर्वृत्ता भारतानां महात्मनाम्॥ १·२·७४

इति सर्पसत्रे आदिवंशावतारूपभारतकथोत्थानप्रतिपादनेन पूर्वापरैकवाक्यतासंपत्तये आदिपर्वणि पौष्यपौलोमास्तीकाख्यानप्रवेशोत्तरं पर्वसंग्रहेऽपि तदाख्यानोल्लेखस्य प्रविष्टताया अवश्यवक्तव्यत्वात्। अन्यथा शतपर्वमयभारतस्य महाभारतस्य वा पौष्यपौलोमास्तीकान्यतमपर्वास्तित्वे प्राथमिकपर्वनाम्ना सांप्रतिकसमग्रादिपर्वणः पौष्यपर्व पौलोमपर्व आस्तीकपर्व इति वा नाम्नि कर्तव्ये कथं नामादिपर्वेति नाम क्रियेत। पर्वसंग्रहाध्यायस्य 'ग'पुस्तकपाठानुसारिनीलकण्ठाख्यानभारतीयशतपर्वगणनायामादिवंशावतारतः पूर्वगतानां पर्वणानसंख्यान एव शतपर्वसंख्यासंपत्तिदर्शनेनापि शतपर्वग्रन्थारम्भ आदिवंशावतारादिक एव तत्पूर्वग्रन्थः शतपर्वबहिर्भूतः पश्चाद्योजित इति सिद्ध्यति।

प्रथमाध्याये अनुक्रमणिकोपोद्घातग्रन्थेन 'लोमहर्षणपुत्र उग्रश्रवाः सूतः' (१·१·१) इति गद्यारब्धेन सूतशौनकादिसमागममुक्त्वा

जनमेजयस्य राजर्षेः सर्पसत्रे महात्मनः। १·१·८
कथिताश्चापि विधिवद्या वैशंपायनेन वै। १·१·९
श्रुत्वाऽहं ता विचित्रार्था महाभारतसंश्रिताः। १·१·१०

अत्रागत (१·१·१२) इति सूतेनोक्ते

जनमेजयस्य यां राज्ञो वैशंपायन उक्तवान्। १·१·१८
संहितां श्रोतुमिच्छामो धर्म्यां पापभयापहाम्। १·१·१९

इति व्यासाज्ञया वैशंपायनेनोक्तस्य महाभारताख्यानस्य शुश्रूषाभृग्विगतामधिगत्य सूतेन संक्षिप्ताख्यानरूपानुक्रमणिका वर्णिता। तदुत्तरं पर्वसंग्रहाध्यायोऽपि योजितः। अतः परं भारतारम्भोपोद्घाते प्रदर्शनीये प्रथमाध्यायवदेव लोमहर्षणपुत्र उग्रश्रवा इत्यादिगद्यवाक्येन प्रस्तुय चतुर्थाध्याये सूतशौनकसमागमो वर्णितः। तदुत्तरं च प्रथमाध्यायोक्तानुसारेण

यां कथां व्याससंपन्नां तां च ब्रूयः प्रचक्ष्व मे।

इति ५३ अध्याय २८ श्लोकमारभ्य ग्रन्थो यदि स्यात्तदा वैशंपायनोक्तमहाभारत-शुश्रूषायां शौनकेन दर्शितायां सूतेन तत्कथनारम्भे पूर्वापरकथायोगेनैकवाक्यता संपद्यत इति । चतुर्थाध्यायसमाप्त्युत्तरग्रन्थः ५३ अध्याय २८ तमश्लोकादिको भवितुं युज्यते ।

पञ्चमाध्यायादौ

पुराणमखिलं तात पिता तेऽधीतवान्पुरा ।
काच्चित्त्वमपि तत्सर्वमधीषे लौमहर्षणे ॥ १·५·१

इति लोमहर्षणादधिगतस्य भार्गववंशस्य शुश्रूषया शौनकेन पृष्टे सूतेन स्व-पितुरधिगतस्य तद्वंशस्य वर्णनं तत्प्रसङ्गेन सर्पसत्राख्यानं पञ्चमादि ५२ अध्यायान्तं जनमेजयसर्पसत्रे वैशंपायनादवगतान्महाभारताद्विभिन्नतया पितृसकाशादधिगत-त्वेनोल्लिख्यमानं सत्तावत्प्रबन्धस्य उपोद्घातरूपेणोपयोगितयाभिप्रेत्य मध्ये पश्चात् प्रविष्टतामुपदर्शयत्येव । आस्तीकपर्वान्तग्रन्थस्योत्तरग्रन्थसंबन्धदर्शनाय च त-त्प्रवेशनेन साकं "भृगुवंशात्प्रभृत्येव" इत्ययं श्लोकोऽपि ५३ अध्याये योजकत्वेन पश्चात्प्राविष्ट इति वक्तव्यमेव ।

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परमत्रैतावद्वक्तव्यम् । उक्तरीत्या पौष्यपौलोमास्तीकाख्यानानां पश्चात् प्रविष्टत्वेऽपि पौलोमास्तीकाभ्यां सहैव न पौष्यस्यापि प्रवेशः किं तु प्रथमाध्याय इव यथा पौलोमादौ लोमहर्षणपुत्र इति ग्रन्थोत्थानभूमिकावाक्यं न तथा पौष्यादौ किंचित्तथारम्भभूमिका । पौलोमास्तीकयोर्यथोत्तरग्रन्थोत्थानसंगतिदर्शकान्यन्त-वाक्यानि न तथा पौष्यान्ते पौलोमोत्थानसंगतिदर्शकवाक्यम् । पौष्यपर्व विनापि पौलोमोत्थानसंभवान्नोत्तरग्रन्थोत्थानाय पौष्याख्यानावश्यकतापि इति पौलो-मास्तीकप्रवेशोत्तरमेव पौष्यस्यापि स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रवेश इति पौष्यपौलोमास्तीका-नामुपक्रमोपसंहारग्रन्थदर्शने स्पष्टमवबुध्यते । यद्यपि पौष्ये विशेषतो वैदिक्या-श्छायाया बाहुल्येन प्राचीना रचना दृश्यते । परं न सा न प्राचीनेत्युच्यते प्राचीनैव ग्रन्थान्तरगता पश्चाद्योजितेत्येवोच्यते । प्रायः सर्वेषु पुस्तकेषु पौष्यपर्वग्रन्थस्य पर्वसंग्रहे उत्तरत्र "पौष्ये पर्वणि माहात्म्यं" (श्लो० ७२) इति पौष्यपर्वोल्लेखस्य सत्त्वेऽपि

पौष्यं तत्र च पौलोममास्तीकं चादितः स्मृतम् ।

इति पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तकीयश्लोके

आख्यास्ये तत्र पौलोममास्तीकं चादितः स्मृतम् ।

इति 'ग'पुस्तके । "आख्यानं तत्र पौलोमास्तीकम्" इति 'घ. च'पुस्तकेषु पौष्य-पदरहितपाठदर्शनेन च पौष्यस्य पश्चादन्तःप्रवेश इति सूच्यते । मुद्रितपुस्तकस्रोतो-मौलिकपुस्तकेऽनुक्रमणिकायां शतपर्वसंग्रहस्थले पौष्यप्रवेशेऽपि 'ग. घ. च.'

पुस्तकेषु तददर्शनेन तत्स्रोतोमौलिकपुस्तके तावत्पर्यन्तं पौष्यपदस्याप्रवेशोऽनुमीयमानः पौष्याख्यानस्य पश्चात्प्रविष्टतां सूचयति। 'आख्यास्ये' इति पदसत्त्वे विनैवाध्याहारं वाक्यपूर्तिः। पौष्यमिति पाठे क्रियाध्याहारं विना न पूर्यते।

भृगुवंशात्प्रभृत्येव त्वया मे कथितं महत्।
आख्यानमखिलं तात सौते प्रीतोऽस्मि तेन ते॥ १·५३·२७

इति श्लोके शौनकवाक्ये 'प्रभृति, एव, अखिलं' इत्यादिपदैर्भृगुवंशकीर्तनमारभ्यैव सूतशौनकसमागमोत्तरमाख्यानारम्भ इति स्पष्टं कीर्तनात् चतुर्थाध्याये सूतशौनकसमागमे सति पञ्चमाध्यायादौ भृगुवंशजिज्ञासायां तस्यैव श्रवचनारम्भणात् चतुर्थाध्यायादावेव सूतसामयिकप्रस्तावनाय गद्यलेखेनारम्भाच्च तदारभ्यैव सूतसामयिकग्रन्थारम्भस्यावश्यवक्तव्यतया तद्बहिर्भूतस्य तत्पूर्ववर्तिनः पौष्याख्यानस्य ततोऽपि पश्चात्प्रवेश इति निश्चयेन दृढीकर्तुं शक्यते। अत्रत्यलिखितपुस्तकेष्वभावेन प्रक्षिप्तत्वेन निश्चितेऽपि पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तकदृष्टे गणेशोपाख्याने मध्ये

संग्रहाध्यायबीजो वै पौलोमास्तिकमूलवान्।

इत्यादौ अन्येषां पर्वणामुल्लेखे पौष्यस्याकीर्तनमपि पौष्यस्य पश्चादेव प्रवेशमनुमापयति। पौष्यपर्वोक्तमुत्तङ्कोख्यानं पश्चादाश्मेधिकपर्वणि पुनरुपलभ्यते। पूर्वत्रोत्तङ्कस्य वेदशिष्यत्वं पौष्यराजपत्नीसकाशात्कुण्डलाहरणम् उत्तरत्र तु गौतमाशिष्यत्वं राक्षसीभूतसौदासराजपत्नीसकाशात्कुण्डलाहरणं विस्तृतलेखेन वर्ण्यते इति नास्ति विसंवादः पौनरुक्त्यं चेति एकस्य पश्चात्प्रविष्टत्वं वक्तव्यमेव। पौष्यपर्वणोऽसंबद्धतया प्रवेशविषये श्रीयुतचिन्तामणि विनायक वैद्यैरपि सम्यक्तथोपपादितमेवेत्यलम्।

एतावता आस्तीकान्तग्रन्थस्य भारतमहाभारतयोः पश्चादन्तः प्रविष्टत्वे वर्ण्यमाने हरिवंशीयभारतश्रवणविध्यध्याये वैशंपायन उवाचेत्युपक्रम्य "आस्तीके भोजयेद्राजन्" इत्युक्त्या वैशंपायनोक्तौ कथमास्तीकोल्लेखनमिति यद्यप्यापाततो विरोधो भासते। परं हरिवंशीये मुद्रिते लिखितेऽपि पुस्तके भारतश्रवणप्रकरणे तद्वाक्योद्धारे हेमाद्रिमुद्रितपुस्तकेऽपि तथैव पाठोपलम्भेऽपि सन्निकटस्थिते हेमाद्रिदानखण्डलिखितपुस्तके "आदिके भोजयेद्राजन्" इति आदिपर्वबोधकादिकपदपाठस्य मदनरत्नदानप्रदीपस्य मदीये प्राचीने लिखितपुस्तके "आस्तिको भोजयेद्राजन्" इति कर्तृविशेषणीभूतास्तिक इति पदपाठस्य

अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायं भारतस्येममुद्दितः।
आस्तिकः सततं शृण्वन्न कृच्छ्रेष्ववसीदति॥ १·१·९९

इति श्लोकवत् दर्शनेन 'आदिके' इति प्राचीनपाठस्य 'आस्तिकः' इति तस्यापि 'आस्तीके' इति क्रमिको लेखपरिणामः किमु। अन्यथा तत्र महाभारतीयाष्टादशपर्वणां तत्तत्पर्वश्रवणान्ते तत्तद्भोजनादिविधिप्रस्तावे आस्तीकस्योपपर्वतया तदन्ते

भोजनोक्तेः प्रकरणवैषम्यात्, तदभ्युपगमेऽपि मुख्यपर्वभूतादिपर्वश्रवणान्ते कर्तव्य-विधेरलाभेन आस्तीकरूपोपपर्वसमाप्तौ कर्तव्यस्य विधानं मुख्यपर्वभूतादिपर्व-समाप्तौ कर्तव्यस्यानभिधानमिति

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि यानि देयानि भारते ।
वाच्यमाने च विप्रेभ्यो राजन्पर्वणि पर्वणि ॥

इत्युपक्रम्य प्रतिपर्वान्ते इदं कर्तव्यमित्युक्तिरनौचित्यमेवावहति । 'आस्तिकः' इति प्रथमान्तपाठेऽपि तत्पूर्ववार्तिनि "आदौ तु वाचकं पूज्य" (चैव इति पाठान्तरम्) इति श्लोके आदिपदस्य आदिपर्वपरत्वमभिप्रेत्य आदिपर्वसमाप्तिकर्तव्यं ततो लब्धुं शक्यते । 'आस्तीके' इति पाठे तु आस्तीकपर्वसमाप्त्युत्तरमेवादिपर्वसमाप्त्या क्रमव्यत्ययेन 'आस्तीके' इत्यनेनैव प्रतिरोधात् तत्पूर्ववर्त्यादिपदस्यादिपर्वपरत्वं न वक्तुं शक्यते । किं तु पारायणारम्भपरत्वमेव वक्तव्यमिति आस्तीकोपाख्यानो-त्तरमेव वैशंपायनीयग्रन्थारम्भात्तदुक्तौ आस्तीकोल्लेखपाठस्य कथमप्यसंभवाच्च 'आदिके आस्तिकः' इत्येव वा मौलिकः पाठोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः ॥

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अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायविषये 'ग'पुस्तकपाठमवलम्ब्य विचारे क्रियमाणे इत्थं प्रतिभाति ।

चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रीं चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् । १·१·६१

इति चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रात्मकनिरुपाख्यानद्वैपायनीयभारतरचनावर्णनोत्तरं

ततोऽध्यर्धशतं भूयः संक्षेपं कृतवानृषिः ।
अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायं वृत्तान्तानां सपर्वणाम् ॥ १·१·६२

इति 'ततः' (तदुत्तरं) 'भूयः' (पुनः) इत्युल्लिख्य अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायरूपाध्य-र्धशतपरिमितसंक्षेपग्रन्थरचनाया व्यासकृतत्वेन स्पष्टं वर्णनात् पौलोमादाविव सूतशौनकसमागमरूपोपोद्घातस्य प्रथमतो योजनेन ग्रन्थद्वैविध्यस्यावश्यवक्त-व्यत्वात् । अन्यथा संक्षेपग्रन्थेन सह पश्चात्तनभारतस्यैकारम्भग्रथितत्वे प्रथमा-ध्यायादावेव सूतशौनकसमागमकथाप्रश्नप्रतिवचनारम्भरूपभूमिकासंपत्तौ पुनस्त-दुल्लेखे पौनरुक्त्यापत्तेः । मध्ये पौष्यपर्वाभावेऽपि प्रथमाद्वितीयाध्याययोस्त-दुत्तरग्रन्थस्य च परस्परशृङ्खलितविषयत्वाभावात् प्रथमाध्यायान्ते पर्वसंग्रहा-ध्यायान्ते च तत्तदध्यायविषयफलस्तुतिकीर्तनेनोपसंहरणात् चतुर्थाध्याय इवानुक्रमणिकाध्यायादावपि "लोमहर्षणपुत्र उग्रश्रवाः" इत्यादिगद्यवाक्येन समाना-कारोपक्रमदर्शनाच्च अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायः पर्वसंग्रहाध्यायश्च भारतान्महाभारताच्च बहिर्भूतः सांप्रतिकमुद्यमाणग्रन्थादौ निबध्यमानया विषयानुक्रमण्या तुल्यः पृथग्रचितः पश्चात्प्रधानग्रन्थेन सह मिलित्वैकशरीरतामापन्नो दृश्यते ।

अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायं भारतस्येममादितः । १·१·१९९

इति भारतस्यादावनुक्रमणिकायाः श्रवणाविधानं "नवनीतं यथा दध्नः" (१·१·२०१) इति सादृश्यवर्णनं

य इमं शुचिरध्यायं पठेत्पर्वणि पर्वणि ।
अधीतं भारतं तेन कृत्स्नं स्यादिति मे मतिः ॥ १·१·२०६

इति अनुक्रमण्या भारततुल्यफलदत्ववर्णनादिकमपि ततो भूयः रचितवानिति कण्ठोक्तं पृथग्भावमुपोद्बलयति ।

अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायोऽपि व्यासेनैव रचित इत्यत्र "भूयः संक्षेपं कृतवानृषिः अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायं" इति स्पष्टोल्लेख एव पर्याप्तं साधनम् । भूय इति पदं हि तस्यैव द्वितीयां रचनां स्पष्टमभिधत्ते । अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायान्ते भारतपदमनुक्रमणिकापदं चोल्लिख्य फलकीर्तनेन "कार्ष्णं वेदमिमं विद्वान्" इति 'आर्षे' इत्ते च कीर्तनेन चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रभारतस्य अनुक्रमणिकायाश्चाक्षरमर्यादया वैयासिकत्वमेव स्पष्टं सिद्ध्यति । सा चानुक्रमणिका "दुर्योधनो मन्युमयो महाद्रुमः" (श्लो० ६५) इत्यारभ्य "स्वर्गतिं चाप्नुयान्नरः" (श्लो० २०७) इत्यन्तैव । "एकतश्चतुरो वेदा" इत्यतः पूर्वश्लोकेषु स्थले स्थले भारतस्यैवोल्लेखो न महाभारतस्य । "एकतश्चतुरो वेदा" इत्यादिश्लोकेषु महाभारतस्योल्लेख इति स्पष्टदर्शनेन महाभारतोल्लेखिन "एकतश्चतुरो वेदा" इत्यारभ्याध्यायसमाप्त्यन्तश्लोका भारतोल्लेखिभिः पूर्वश्लोकैः सह जन्मालभमाना महाभारतावस्थायां योजिता इति वक्तुं शक्यते । मुद्रितपुस्तकानुसारेण तन्मध्यगेषु १६२ श्लोकेषु 'ग'पुस्तकपाठानुसारेण दश श्लोकाः अर्द्धचतुष्कमिति द्वादशश्लोकानामभावेन तावतां त्यागे शेषवाक्यानामेकवाक्यतासंपत्त्यविरोधेन च प्रक्षिप्तत्वस्य वाच्यतया १५२-१५१ श्लोका एवावशिष्यन्ते इत्यध्यर्धशतसंख्या सूपपद्यते । तावतां कवयिता द्वैपायनः । तत्पूर्वभागश्च कथानुसारेण वैशंपायनीयशब्दानुवादभावानुवादान्यत्ररूपेण सूतावस्थायां प्रस्तावनारूपेण पूरितः । अध्यर्धशतमितिस्थाने 'क-ग.'पुस्तकयोः 'द्व्यर्धशतम्' इति पाठान्तरम् । "अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायं वृत्तान्तानां सपर्वणाम्" इति वाक्येन वैयासिकपर्वसंग्रहस्यापि विषयक्रोडीकार इव लक्ष्यते । वैयासिकपर्वसंग्रहस्यापि योजनेन द्व्यर्धशतसंख्या संपादयितुं शक्येत किल । विचार्यमेतत् ।

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पर्वसंग्रहाध्यायं विषयीकृत्य किंचिदभिधीयते । तत्र हि द्विधा पर्वसंग्रहः । प्रथमतः शतपर्वविभागः । पुनश्च शतपर्वसंख्यामनुल्लिख्याष्टादशपर्वविभागेन तदवान्तरकथानकवर्णनम् । तत्र प्रथमे

समासो भारतस्यायं श्रूयतां पर्वसंग्रहः । १·२·७१

इति भारतपदोल्लेखपूर्वकमुपक्रम्योपसंहारे

एतत्पर्वशतं पूर्णं व्यासेनोक्तं महात्मना । १·२·७०

इति स्पष्टमुल्लेखेन व्यासीयस्य चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रस्य भारतस्यायं पर्वशतविभाग इति व्यक्तमेव । तस्मिंश्च शतपर्वविभागे पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तकपाठावलोकने द्वितीये पर्वसंग्रहे इव रामोपाख्यानादीनां बहूनामुपाख्यानानामप्युल्लेखदर्शनेन

उपाख्यानैर्विना तावद्भारतं प्रोच्यते बुधैः । १·१·६१

इति पूर्वोक्तनिरुपाख्यानभारतस्य अस्य भारतीयपर्वसंग्रहस्य च विषयविसंवादेन वैमत्यं शतसंख्याया बाहुल्येनातिक्रमः इत्यादयो दृष्टिगोचरतां प्राप्ता बहवो व्याघाता 'ग'पुस्तकीय पाठदर्शनेन निवर्तन्ते । तत्र हि प्राथमिके शतपर्वविभागे नोपाख्यानानां प्रवेशः । द्वितीयीके तूपाख्यानानामप्युल्लेख इति प्राथमिको निरुपाख्यानस्य चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रस्य व्यासीयस्य भारतस्यैव पर्वसंग्रहः । व्यासोक्तमित्युपसंहारोक्तिरिदमेव स्पष्टीकरोति । उत्तरग्रन्थे नानोपाख्यानोल्लेखस्य दर्शनेन पूर्वत्राप्युपाख्यानानां प्रवेशनं केनापि विहितं किल, येन पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तके तत्स्रोतःपुस्तकान्तरेष्वप्येवं पाठविप्लवो दृश्यते । 'ग'पुस्तकपाठानुसारेण परिगणने आपाद्यतः १०५ पर्वसंख्या जायते । परं

भारतस्येतिहासस्य श्रूयतां पर्वसंग्रहः । १·२·३३

इत्युपक्रम्य

एतत्पर्वशतं पूर्णं व्यासेनोक्तं महात्मना । १·२·७०

इत्युपसंहारेण " अनुक्रमणिकाध्यायं वृत्तान्तानां सपर्वणाम् " इति पर्वसंग्रहस्यापि वैयासिकत्वसूचनेन पर्वसंग्रहेऽस्मिन् पर्वशतोल्लेखाद्वक्ष्यमाणरीत्या वैशंपायनपूर्वभावित्वावगमेन अध्यायोपसंहारे फलस्तुतावपि उपक्रमोपसंहारवत्स्थले स्थले भारतशब्दोल्लेखेन च व्यासीयत्वेन निश्चितेऽस्मिन्नादिवंशावतारमारभ्यैव व्यासग्रन्थारम्भेण तदादिकानामेव पर्वणामुल्लेखो युक्तः । न तु अव्यासीयानां पौष्यपौलोमास्तीकाख्यानानामुल्लेख उचितः । पर्वानुक्रमण्याः पर्वसंग्रहस्याध्यायस्य च भारतमहाभारतबहिर्भावस्य दर्शितत्वेन न तयोरपि शतपर्वान्तर्भाव इत्यादिवंशावतारमारभ्यैव व्यासीयपर्वणां गणनीयतया तत्पूर्ववर्तिनां त्यागेन तदारभ्य गणने शतपर्वसंख्या साधु संपद्यते । ततश्चास्मिन्पर्वविभागे (१·२·३४)

• पर्वानुक्रमणी पूर्वं द्वितीयः पर्वसंग्रहः ।
पौष्यं पौलोममास्तीकम्

इत्यन्तभागः पश्चात्तनग्रन्थदर्शनेन मुद्रितपुस्तकपाठे नानोपाख्यानपर्वोल्लेखप्रवेशवत् केनापि पश्चाद्योजित इति वक्तव्यमेव । एवं सत्यादिवंशावतारस्यैव प्रथमपर्वत्वेन वक्ष्यमाणरीत्याष्टादशपर्वविभागे प्राथमिकतत्पर्वनाम्ना समष्टेरादिपर्वसमाख्या च संगच्छते । हरिवंशोऽपि एतत्पर्वशतरूपभारतान्तःपात्येव । हरिवंशपर्वनिर्देशोत्तरं

एतत्पर्वशतं पूर्णं व्यासेनोक्तं महात्मना । १·२·७०

इत्युपसंहारात् । अन्तेऽपि हरिवंशसमाप्त्युत्तरं भारतफलस्तुतिश्रवणविध्यध्यायेन भारतस्योपसंहारात् तं विना ग्रन्थसंख्यापूर्तेरप्यसंभवाच्च ।

पश्चाद्भारतस्योपबृंहणेन महाभारते संपाद्यमाने तत्तदवान्तरपूर्वकथासंनिधौ उपपादकतया दृष्टान्ततया प्रासङ्गिकतयेत्येवमादिरूपेणोपबृंहणाय प्रवेश्यमानानां नानोपाख्यानानां पूर्वसिद्धशतपर्वान्तर्गतैर्नियताविषयैस्तत्तत्पर्वभिः तदनन्तर्गतविभिन्नविषयतया ग्रहणासंभवेन रामोपाख्यानं नलोपाख्यानं वासिष्ठोपाख्यानमित्यादिरूपेण पृथक्पृथक्प्रकरणानि विधाय सम्युचितेषु तत्तत्स्थलेषु प्रवेशने कर्तव्ये सति पूर्वसिद्धशतपर्वणां क्रमिकसंख्यां परित्यज्य पश्चात्प्रविष्टोपाख्यानपर्वाण्यपि गणयित्वा समाप्तिपर्यन्तं सामस्त्येन द्वित्रशतादीनि यावन्ति पर्वाणि जायेरन् तावत्पर्वसंख्यया ग्रन्थरचना कर्तव्या । किं वा पूर्वसिद्धशतपर्वस्वापि इत आरभ्यैतत्पर्यन्तमेतन्महाप्रकरणमिति संक्षिप्य कतिपयानि महाप्रकरणानि कल्पयित्वा तत्तदभ्यन्तरे यथास्थलमुपबृंहणरूपाण्युपाख्यानानि निवेश्य मध्यप्रविष्टोपाख्यानसहितांस्तांस्तान् शतपर्वग्रन्थविभागान् तत्तन्महाप्रकरणनाम्ना संगृह्य रचना कर्तव्येति द्वयी गतिः समापतिता । उभयत्रापि पूर्वसिद्धा शतसंख्यावश्यं त्याज्यत्वमापन्ना । अनयोश्च प्रकरणयोर्मध्ये यत्र संक्षेपदृष्ट्या समानविषयकं तत्तदध्यायव्यूहं तत्पर्वनाम्ना व्यवहृत्य शतसंख्या संपादिता तयैव दृशा पर्वसंख्यायाः शताधिकबाहुल्यकल्पनापेक्षयाल्पसंख्यामहाप्रकरणकल्पनैव लघीयस्तया समुचिता । एवं सति वैशंपायनेन भारतमुपबृंह्य उपाख्यानैः सह कृते महाभारते वर्ण्यमाने पूर्वसिद्धशतपर्वसंख्यामेवावलम्ब्य कथनस्यासंभवेन तत्त्यागस्य गले पतिततया तथा विभागं परित्यज्य तत्तन्महाप्रकरणीयप्रथमप्रथमपर्वनाम्ना उत्तरग्रन्थान्संगृह्य आदिवंशावतारपर्वारभ्य मयदर्शनान्तमादिपर्व सभाक्रियापर्वारभ्यानुयूतपर्वान्तं सभापर्वेत्यादिरीत्या खिलवर्जमष्टादशपर्वाणि खिलं

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१ एवंरूपेण सर्वत्रानुगतमार्गे दृश्यमानेऽपि स्त्रीपर्वणि मुद्रितपुस्तकानुसारेण प्रथमतो जलप्रदानिकपर्व ततः स्त्रीविलापपर्व ततः श्राद्धपर्व इत्युल्लेखदर्शनेन स्त्रीविलापपर्वणो मध्यगतस्य नाम्ना कथं स्त्रीपर्वव्यवहार इति आपाततः शङ्कोदयेऽपि द्वितीयपर्वसंग्रहाध्याये 'ग'पुस्तकवर्जं सकलपुस्तकगतपाठतः स्त्रीविलापादुत्तरं जलप्रदानस्योल्लेखात् पश्चात्तनग्रन्थदर्शनेपि जलप्रदानस्य विलापप्रकरणोत्तरमेव सत्वात् वस्तुदृष्ट्यापि शोकेन प्रथमतो विलापस्य ततः संस्कारोत्तरं जलप्रदानाद्यौर्ध्वदेहिकस्य युक्तत्वाच्च स्त्रीविलापनाम्न एव प्राथमिकतया तन्नाम्नैव स्त्रीपर्वसंज्ञानमिति प्रथमपर्वसंग्रहे पाठविपर्यासेन भाव्यम् । तदनुसारेणैव स्त्रीपर्वग्रन्थे मुद्रितपुस्तके पुष्पिकादिषु च पर्वनामोल्लेखविपर्यास इति मन्तव्यमेव । अथवा 'ग'पुस्तकपाठानुसरणे 'तोयकर्मणि चारब्धे' इति श्लोकस्य सौप्तिकैषीकाख्यानान्यन्तरे उल्लेखदर्शनेन शतपर्वसंग्रहेऽपि स्त्रीविलापतः पूर्वं जलप्रदानिकोल्लेखेन आधुनिकमुद्रितलिखितस्त्रीपर्वपुस्तकदर्शनेऽपि जलप्रदानिकनाम्ना व्यवहृतस्य ग्रन्थस्य स्त्रीविलापग्रन्थात्पूर्वमुपलम्भेन च ऐकमत्यं दृश्यते । तथा च जलप्रदानिकग्रन्थस्य ऐषीकपर्वशेषतया स्त्रीविलापादारभ्यैव स्त्रीपर्वारम्भ इति 'ग'पुस्तकपाठतोऽपि संगच्छते ।

चैकोनविंशं पर्वेति विभज्य प्रावोचि। एवंविभागे यादृशी उपपत्तिस्तयैवोपपत्त्या कोशादावपि स्वर्गदेवबुद्धब्रह्मविष्ण्वादिनामसंग्रहे स्वर्गवर्गो देववर्गो बुद्धवर्गो विष्णुवर्ग इत्यादिनामान्यकल्पयित्वा स्वर्गादिनिधिनामान्तवर्गस्य स्वर्गनामारब्धस्य स्वर्गवर्ग इति एवमुत्तरत्रापि व्योमवर्गो दिग्वर्ग इत्यादिव्यवहारः सांप्रदायिकैरङ्गीकृतो बहुधोपलभ्यते। एवं च वैयासिकशतपर्वविभागं कुक्षौ कृत्वा खिलवर्जमष्टादशपर्वविभागो महाभारतप्रवक्तुर्वैशंपायनस्यैव समये संपन्नः इत्यवश्यं वाच्यः। महाभारतस्यैव द्वितीयेन प्रवक्त्रा सूतेनापि सांप्रतिकैर्महाभारतवाचकैरिव वैयासिकशतपर्वरीत्या प्रवचनस्यासंभवात्तमेव वैशंपायनीयमष्टादशपर्वविभागं पुनरवलम्ब्य प्रवचनं कृतमित्यष्टादशविभागः सूतसमये द्वितीयः। अत एव हरिवंशान्तर्गते भारतश्रवणविध्यध्याये "वैशंपायन उवाच" इत्युपक्रम्योक्ते अष्टादशपर्वविभागीयपर्वनामोल्लेखः साधु संगच्छते। अष्टादशधा विभागस्य प्रथमतः सूतकृतत्वेऽभ्युपगम्यमाने पश्चाद्भाविपर्वविभागनामोल्लेखेन वैशंपायनीयं कीर्तनं व्याकुप्येत। पूर्वोक्तोपपत्तयश्च प्रतिहन्येरन्। इत्थं च

एतत्पर्वशतं पूर्णं व्यासेनोक्तं महात्मना।
यथावत्सूतपुत्रेण लौमहर्षणिना ततः॥ १·२·७०
उक्तानि नैमिषारण्ये पर्वाण्यष्टादशैव तु॥ १·२·७१

इति पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तकपाठानुसारेण अष्टादश पर्वाणि तु लौमहर्षणिना नैमिषे उक्तानीति यथाश्रुतार्थमवलम्ब्य सूतप्राथमिक एवायमष्टादशपर्वविभाग इति यत्कैश्चिदुच्यते तदप्यापातरमणीयमेव। अत्रत्येषु सर्वेषु लिखितपुस्तकेषु लौमहर्षणिना पुनरित्येव पाठः। स एव युज्यते च। अनेन श्लोकेन हि पर्वशतं व्यासेनोक्तमष्टादश पर्वाणि तु सूतेन यथावत् यथा वैशंपायनेनोक्तं तदानुरूप्येण पुनः द्वितीयवारमुक्तानीत्युच्यते। यथावदित्यनेन पूर्वानुरूप्यं पुनरित्यनेन भूयस्त्वं कथ्यते। सूतोपज्ञेऽष्टादशविभागे स्वीक्रियमाणे यथावदित्यनेन किं बोध्येत। न हि यथा व्यासेन पर्वशतमुक्तं तथैवेत्यर्थो विवक्षितुं शक्यते। सूतेन पर्वशतमात्रप्रवचनस्य कथमप्यसिद्धत्वात्केनाप्यनभ्युपगमादष्टादशेत्युक्त्या सह विरोधाच्च। तथा च व्यासादनन्तरं सूततः पूर्वं वैशंपायनेन यथोक्तं तथैव सूतेन प्रोक्तमित्यर्थलाभेन पूर्वप्रवक्तुर्वैशंपायनस्यैव समयेऽष्टादशविभागप्राप्तेः पुनरित्यनेन सूतप्रोक्ततथाविभागस्य द्वितीयीकत्वं स्पष्टमेवोद्घुष्यते। 'पुनः'पदपाठाभावेऽपि यथावदित्येव पर्याप्तम्। पुनःशब्दो हि तमेवार्थं दृढीकरोति। महाभारतं सूतेन निर्मितम्। अष्टादशपर्वविभागोऽपि सूतेनैव प्रथमतः संपादित इति यथाधुनिकैस्तर्क्यते तथैव सूतेनापि शतपर्वभारतमेवोक्तमित्यपि कैश्चिदाशङ्क्येत तन्मा शङ्कि, शतपर्वभारतं व्यासेनोक्तम् अष्टादशपर्व महाभारतं तु प्रथमतो वैशंपायनेन तदुत्तरं सूतेनोक्तमिति बोधयता यथावत्पुनरिति पदावष्टब्धेन पूर्वोत्तरग्रन्थबोधितार्थसमर्थकेनानेन श्लोकेन शतपर्वभारतवक्ता अष्टादशपर्वमहाभारतकर्तापि न सूतः किं तु वैशंपायनोक्ताष्टादशपर्वमहाभारतवक्तैवेत्येव प्रत्युतोद्घुष्यते॥

एतत्पर्वशतं पूर्णं व्यासेनोक्तं महात्मना । १·२·७०

इति पूर्वोक्तशतपर्वसंग्रहस्योपसंहारवाक्यम् । पश्चान्निर्दिष्टस्य

समासो भारतस्यायमत्रोक्तः पर्वसंग्रहः । १·२·७१

इत्यस्यान्ते 'ख.ङ.छ.'पुस्तकपाठे अध्यायच्छेदपुष्पिकादर्शनेन नीलकण्ठीयरीत्यास्य वाक्यस्य पौष्यं पौलोमामित्याद्युत्तरवाक्येन सह योजनाक्लेशस्यापेक्षया

एतत्पर्वशतं पूर्णं व्यासेनोक्तं महात्मना । १·२·७०

इत्यनेन पूर्ववाक्येन सह योजनेऽक्लेशेनैवैकवाक्यतासंपत्तिदर्शनेन

भारतस्येतिहासस्य श्रूयतां पर्वसंग्रहः । १·२·३३

इत्युपक्रमवाक्यानुरूपोपसंहारवाक्यसंपत्त्या उक्त इति भूतार्थक्तप्रत्ययस्वारस्यादपि पूर्ववाक्यान्वयस्यैवौचित्येन च पुस्तकान्तरेषु तत्राध्यायच्छेदपुष्पिकाभावेऽपि "समासो भारतस्यायम्" इत्यर्थोऽपि पूर्वग्रन्थस्यैवोपसंहारवाक्यमिति स्वरसतः प्रतीयते । ततश्चैकवाक्यतापन्नयोरनयोर्भारतीयपर्वसंग्रहोपसंहारवाक्ययोर्मध्ये दृश्यमानो "यथावत्सूतपुत्रेण" इति श्लोको महाभारतीयाष्टादशपर्वोल्लेखितया महाभारतीयपश्चात्तनपर्वसंग्रहस्यान्ते स्थातुं समुचितो मण्डूकप्लुत्यात्रानागत्य स्वस्थान एवास्थास्यत्साध्वभविष्यत् ।

एतत्सर्वं समाख्यातं भारते पर्वसंग्रहः । १·२·२३४

इत्यादिको भारतोल्लेखी फलस्तुतिप्रदर्शनपरो ग्रन्थो भारतीयपर्वसंग्रहस्यैवोत्तर उपसंहारग्रन्थः । तत्र "यदह्ना कुरुते पापम्" इत्यादिकं (१८९*, १९०*) श्लोकद्वयं महाभारतप्रशंसापरं 'ग'पुस्तकपाठेऽनुपलम्भेन पश्चात्प्रक्षिप्तमिति स्पष्टमवबुध्यते । तेन च वैशंपायनीयमहाभारतसंपत्युत्तरमष्टादशपर्वविभागानुसारी श्लोकाध्यायादिगणनासहितः पर्वसंग्रहः सूत्रेण वैयासिकपर्वसंग्रहेण सह संयोज्य तदध्यायमध्ये पश्चात् प्रवेशितः ।

मध्यप्रविष्टमहाभारतीयपर्वसंग्रहेऽपि मध्ये क्वचिद्द्वैपायनोक्तत्वोल्लेखश्च द्वैपायनस्यैव सर्वेतिहासमूलप्रवक्तृतया मूलवक्तृत्वमभिप्रेत्यैव । निरुपाख्यानस्य भारतस्यैव वैयासिकत्वेनात्र 'ग'पुस्तकपाठेऽपि उपाख्यानोल्लेखेन व्यासीयत्वे तदसंभवात् चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रस्यैव व्यासीयत्वोल्लेखेनात्र गणितश्लोकसंख्याबाहुल्येनायुक्तत्वात् । पर्वशतविभागवदष्टादशपर्वविभागस्यापि वैयासिकत्वेन क्वाप्यनुल्लेखाच्च ।

एवं च सति शतपर्वविभागात्मको ग्रन्थोऽपि सूतकृत इति केषांचित्तर्कनापि न युज्यते । एकस्य ग्रन्थस्य एकेनैव दीर्घतया ह्रस्वतया चोभयथा विभजनस्य निष्प्रयोजनत्वात् । श्रीयुतचिन्तामणि वैद्यैरपीत्थमेव वर्णितम् । वैशंपायनोक्तस्याष्टादशधा विभक्तस्य महाभारतस्यैव सूतेन प्रतिपादनेनाष्टादशविभागस्यैव तदीय-

प्रवचनेऽपेक्षा । न तु भारतीयस्य शतपर्वविभागस्य । न च भारतं महाभारतं चोभयमेव पृथक्सूतेन वर्णितम् । शौनकादीनां वैशंपायनप्रोक्तमहाभारतशुश्रूषां पूरयितुं प्रवृत्तेन तेन तस्यैव प्रवचनस्योल्लेखात् ।

न चैवं सति स्वयं प्रोच्यमानस्य सोपाख्यानमहाभारतस्यैव पर्वसंग्रहोऽस्मिन्महाभारते सूतेन वर्णनीयः शतपर्वविभागानुसारेणाग्रवचनान्निरुपाख्यानवैयासिकभारतस्य शतपर्वविभागानुसारी पर्वसंग्रहः सूतेनात्रोपेक्षणीयः किमिति स्थापित इत्याशङ्कनीयम् । साक्षात्प्रकृतग्रन्थाननुरूपतया सांनिवेशेऽप्यकिंचित्करस्य वैयासिकपर्वसंग्रहस्य महाभारतपर्वसंग्रहाभ्यन्तरे प्रवेशनानुग्रहं विदधता सूतेन वशमिदं वक्तुं मार्गं न दर्शिताः किंतु । यत् भारतस्योपबृंहणेन महाभारतसंपादने द्वैपायनीयं भारतवाक्यं किमप्यपरित्यज्यैव स्थले स्थले नवोपाख्यानादिग्रन्थयोजनेन वाक्यबृंहणेन च ग्रन्थवैपुल्यमात्रं संपादितम् । न तु पूर्वसिद्धं भारतग्रन्थं समुपेक्ष्य स्वतन्त्रं महाभारतं संपादितं वैशंपायनेन । मया सूतेनापि वैशंपायनप्रोक्तमेव महाभारतमुपोद्घातादियोजनेनानूदितं न तु ग्रन्थान्तरमुपवर्णितम् । तेन च महाभारताभ्यन्तरे भारतस्य ग्रन्थरूपतया स्थितिरिति । अतश्च भारतकर्त्रा महाभारतकर्त्रा च प्रतिपादितस्य विषयस्यैकत्र समावेशात्क्वचित्पौनरुक्त्यामिव क्वचिद्भङ्गीभेदेन द्विधा निरूपणं, क्वचिद्विसंवादोऽप्युपलक्ष्यमाणः कर्तृभेदान्नानौचित्यमर्हति । भारतशब्दोल्लेखिनां महाभारतशब्दोल्लेखिनां च वाक्यानां क्वचिदेकत्र मिथः संयुज्यावस्थानात्संकीर्णताप्युपलक्ष्यते । भारतीयाख्यानविषयकाणां स्वतन्त्राणां ग्रन्थान्तराणामुपलब्धेरिव प्रधानभूतस्य भारतस्याप्युपलब्धेर्योग्यतायां यत्रोपलभ्यते तत्र भारतवाक्यान्यपरित्यज्य तानि कुक्षौ कृत्वा महाभारतस्य निर्माणेन प्रचारेण च तद्व्याप्यस्य भारतस्य प्रचारशैथिल्येनाश्वलायनसमयपर्यन्तं रक्षितस्यापि तस्य समयवशात्पार्थक्येनावस्थितौ प्रत्याघात एव निदानं स्यान्ननु ।

पर्वसंग्रहाध्यायस्य पूर्वप्रोक्ते निरुपाख्यानभारतपर्वसंग्रहे पश्चात्तने सोपाख्यानमहाभारतपर्वसंग्रहे चोल्लिखितानां विषयाणां संमेलनतो विस्तरांशस्य परिच्छेदेन तदनुसारेणोत्तरग्रन्थस्य विभजनं तत्तत्स्थलीयोक्तिभाषारचनादीनां सूक्ष्मतया विविच्य परीक्षणं चैवमादीनामुपायानामवलम्बनेन विचारणे अयमंशो भारतीयः अयमंश उपबृंहणरूपो महाभारतकालिक इति बहुधावगन्तुं तत्परायणैः परीक्षकैः शक्येतेत्याशंसा ।

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अत्रोपलब्धेषु पुस्तकेषु 'ग 'पुस्तकपाठे बहुलतया वैशिष्ट्यमुपलक्ष्यते ।
तथा हि पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तकस्य पर्वसंग्रहाध्यायगते शतपर्वनामोल्लेखे नल–सावित्री–राम–मातलि–गालव–सावित्र–वामदेव्य–वैन्य – जामदग्न्य–षोडशराजक– विदुला–पुत्रशासन–विश्वोपाख्यान–चार्वाकनिग्रह–शुकप्रश्न–ब्रह्मप्रश्नादीनां हरिवंशीयविष्णुपर्वणश्च कीर्तनानि दृश्यन्ते । येषां प्रवेशे भारते निरुपाख्यानत्वं प्रतिरुध्यते शतसंख्या

चातिक्रम्यते चार्वाकायुल्लेखेन प्राचीनतापि कुण्ठीभवति। 'ग'पुस्तकपाठे तदुल्लेखवाक्यानामभावेन पश्चात्तनग्रन्थानुसारेण केनापि तानि तत्रापि पश्चात्प्रवेशितान्येव। तथात्वे शतसंख्या च निरुपाख्यानत्वादि च न व्याहन्यते इति तादृशोपाख्यानोल्लेखवाक्यानि मुद्रितपुस्तकस्रोतोमूलपुस्तके प्रक्षिप्तानीति स्पष्टं प्रतीयते।

द्वैतीयीके पर्वसंग्रहेऽपि शकुन्तलाख्यान–पञ्चाप्सरोमोक्षणाख्यान–नैयायिकवादिविवाद–यवक्रीत–रैभ्याख्यान–दम्भोद्भव– मालि—गालव–विदुलापुत्र–जम्बूखण्ड–कृष्णकृतभीष्माक्रमण–दुःशासनवक्षोरुधिरप्पनादीनां मुद्रितपुस्तके उल्लिखितानां 'ग'पुस्तकेऽनुपलम्भेन तेषां पश्चात्प्रवेशः प्रतीयते। शकुन्तलोपाख्यानग्रन्थस्तु 'ग'पुस्तकेऽपि पश्चाद्वर्तते। कानि कान्युपाख्यानानि पश्चाद्विद्यन्ते कानि न सन्तीति तु पश्चात्सर्वं पर्यालोच्य सूचयिष्यामि। पञ्चपुत्रनिषाया जतुगृहे कृष्णवर्णने तत्र नियुक्तेन मन्त्रिणा पुरोचनेन परितः पर्यायरक्षायामवश्यं कृतत्वेन वक्तव्यायां निषादव्यक्तीनां काकतालीयन्यायेन बहुसंख्यकानामेव कथं तत्रान्तःप्रवेशः मन्त्रिणा पुरोचनेन तत्सर्वं कथं न ज्ञातं जतुगृहे तेषां निःशेषदग्धतया कथं वा पश्चात्तदीयशवानामुपलम्भः उपलम्भे वा कथं तेषां समानाकृतिपाण्डवत्वेन प्रत्यभिज्ञानमिति बह्वसाङ्गत्यदर्शनेन स्वतोऽप्यसंगतितया शङ्क्यमानं तदुपाख्यानं 'ग'पुस्तकीये पर्वसंग्रहे अनुक्रमणिकायामप्यनुल्लिख्यमानं तत्र तदुल्लेखेन सहाख्यानमपि पश्चात्प्रक्षिप्तं दृढयति। एवं पूर्वकृतप्रतिज्ञाविरुद्धं कृष्णेन भीष्माक्रमणमनार्यजनोचितं भीमेन दुःशासनरुधिरपानमपि तत्पुस्तकेऽदर्शनेन प्रक्षिप्तं दृश्यते। यक्षप्रश्नाख्यानं शङ्क्यमानं तु 'ग'पुस्तकपाठतोऽपि पूर्वोत्तरयोर्द्वयोः पर्वसंग्रहयोः प्रश्नरूपेण लिख्यमानमपि पूर्वत्रारणेयं पर्वेति सामान्यनाम्ना उत्तरत्र "यत्र धर्मोऽन्वशात्सुतम्" इति धर्मकृतोपदेशरूपेण सूचितम्। अनुक्रमणिकाध्याये तु प्रश्नपदोल्लेखेन स्पष्टतया प्रतिपादितम्। अनुक्रमणिकाध्याये विश्वरूपदर्शनोल्लेखेन सूच्यमाना गीता द्वयोः पर्वसंग्रहयोरप्युल्लिख्यमाना अनुगीता उत्तरपर्वसंग्रहेऽनुक्तापि पूर्वशतपर्वपरिगणने गण्यमाना मूलत एव स्थितिं दर्शयन्तः। हरिवंशेऽपि संदिह्यमाना विष्णुपर्वस्थितिः पूर्वपर्वसंग्रहगत्या 'ग'पुस्तकपाठेन दृढमपसार्यते। यत्खलु द्वितीयपर्वसंग्रहे 'ग'पुस्तकपाठसंवादिना पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तकपाठेनापि पूर्वत्र प्रक्षिप्तमिति स्पष्टतया वक्तुं शक्यते। 'ग पुस्तके द्वितीयपर्वसंग्रहे द्रौपदीतनयोत्पत्तिप्रतिपादकश्लोकस्य (श्लो० ११०*) असत्त्वेन, "द्रौपदेयांश्च सर्वशः" इत्यस्य स्थाने "जघ्नुर्द्वीणिपुरोगमा" (श्लो० १८१) इति पाठस्य "द्रौपदी पुत्रशोकार्ता" (श्लो० १८३) इत्यस्य स्थाने "द्रौपदी यत्र शोकार्ता" इति पाठस्य दर्शनेन द्रौपदीपुत्राणां सत्त्वसंदेहः। परमनुक्रमणिकाध्याये सौप्तिके द्रौपदेयवधप्रतिपादकस्य श्लोकस्य सत्त्वेन "द्रौपदी यत्र शोकार्ता" इत्यत्रापि "हतानशनसंकल्पा" इत्युक्त्या तत्त्वं प्रतिभाति। येषु येषु विषयेषु संदेहधीः सांप्रतिकविवेचकानां प्रायस्तेषां तेषां विषयाणामेतत्पुस्तकपाठेऽनुल्लेखोपलम्भेन विशेषतः प्रामाणिकपाठवत्त्वमस्य बोधयत् तत्तदाख्यानानां पश्चात्प्रविष्टत्वोक्तौ कथमवलम्बनमिदं न जायेत। नानोपाख्यान-

सहितद्वितीयपर्वसंग्रहस्य उपाख्यानरहितपर्वसंग्रहस्य चैतत्पुस्तकपाठतो द्विधोपलम्भे पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तकपाठे पूर्वत्र परत्र च वैषम्यादर्शनेन पौनरुक्त्यमिव प्रतिभासमानमपि पराहतमेव ।

पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तकं तदनुरूपाण्येव पुस्तकान्तराणि वा यावदुपलभ्यन्ते तावत् तदीयपर्वसंग्रहे सूचितानां विषयाणामुत्तरग्रन्थानां च संमेलने विशेषतो विभिन्नत्वस्यादर्शनेन सूतसमयोत्तरं महाभारते उपबृंहणादिकं परिवर्तनान्तरं न संपन्नं तत्सामयिकमेव महाभारतं संप्रत्यस्माभिरुपलभ्यते । महाभारते एडूकयवनसुरङ्गम्लेच्छशकादीनामर्वाचीनविषयकशब्दानां स्थले स्थले प्रवेशदर्शनेन च सूतो न व्यासवैशंपायनसमकालिकः किं तु ताच्छिष्यपरंपरागतोऽर्वाचीन इति महाभारतरचनाकालस्योपद्वाविंशशतवर्षपूर्वत्वं नेति श्रीयुत चिन्तामणि विनायक वैद्यैरानुमानिक्या दृशा पर्यालोच्य यदवोचि तथैव सर्वैर्वक्तव्यमेव । विना साधनान्तरोपलम्भं किमन्यदुच्येत कुशलैरपि विवेचकैः ।

भाग्येनोपलभ्यमाने चास्मिन्पुस्तकपाठे तैरेव वैद्यमहाशयैरापि पश्चात्प्रविष्टत्वेन शङ्कितानां बहूनां विषयाणामुपाख्यानानां चानुल्लेखेन प्रक्षिप्ततासिद्धौ व्यासोक्तमित्युल्लिखितभारतीयपूर्वपर्वसंग्रहोक्तविषयापेक्षया महाभारतसंबन्धिद्वैतीयीकपर्वसंग्रहोक्तविषयाधिक्यस्य स्पष्टतया लाभेन अयुक्तया शङ्कितानां बहूनां विषयाणामनुल्लेखतस्तादृशांशानां पश्चात्समयवशेन प्रक्षिप्ततासिद्ध्या च वैयासिकभारतस्य महाभारतरूपेणोपबृंहणोत्तरमपि देशकालसमाजसंप्रदायव्यवहारानुसारेण तेषामनुकूलाः कति नवनवांशाः प्रविष्टाः कति वा प्रतिकूलांशा निर्गता न भवेयुरिति बहुपरंपरापर्यवसन्नं स्वरूपमेवास्माकं पुरो वर्तते । न पुनः किल जन्मसिद्धमेव । एवं पुस्तकविभेदेन पाठविभेद उपलभ्यमानोऽन्तरान्तरा श्लोकन्यूनाधिक्यमपि दृश्यमानं बहुशो बहूनां हस्तप्रक्षेपमेवोपदर्शयति ।

एवं च

शशास शिष्यमासीनं वैशंपायनमन्तिके । १·१·५७

इति व्यासाज्ञया जनमेजयसत्रे वैशंपायनेन महाभारतप्रवचनोक्त्या वैशंपायनस्य व्याससमानकालिकसाक्षाच्छिष्यतायाः

जनमेजयस्य राजर्षेः सर्पसत्रे महात्मनः । १·१·८
काथिताश्चापि विधिवद्या वैशंपायनेन वै । १·१·९
श्रुत्वाहं ता विचित्रार्था महाभारतसंश्रिताः । १·१·१०

इति सूतवाक्यतो वैशंपायनोक्तिसमये महाभारतश्रवणप्रतिपादनेन व्याससाक्षाच्छिष्यभूतलोमहर्षणपुत्रत्वेन च सूतस्य वैशंपायनसमानकालिकतायाश्च शब्दत एव लभ्यमानतया तावतैव भारतसिद्धेर्नातिचिरमनन्तरमेव महाभारतस्यापि सिद्धौ सिद्धायां पूर्वसिद्धत्वे संदिग्धानां प्रक्षिप्तत्वेन निश्चितानामेवमनर्वाचीनत्वसाधनोपलम्भेऽप्यर्वाचीनत्वेन मन्यमानानां कतिपयानां यवनादिपदानां वा दर्शनेन कवलं

स्थालीपुलाकन्यायमवलम्ब्य समस्तस्य महाभारतस्यार्वाचीनत्वकल्पनापेक्षया प्राचीनताविघटकानां तावतां प्रमाणान्तरैः साध्यमानं संदिह्यमानं वासमसामयिकत्वमेव वक्तुं न्याय्यं किल। न समुचितं हि पश्चादारूढानां लतानां बालभावोपलम्भेन ताभिर्जटिलस्य जरत्तरोरपि कौमारभावसाधनं नाम।

यवनादिपदं यथा खलु नीचैराकर्षति महाभाष्यं, सांप्रतं हडप्पा-मोहेञ्जोदाडोभूगर्भनिर्गताः प्राचीनतमत्वेन (पञ्चसहस्रवत्सरपूर्वतनत्वेन) निश्चीयमाना मुद्रालेखाः न किं महाभारतीयहरिवंशोल्लिखितानां पञ्चालानां राज्ञां (हरिवंशपर्व अ० ३२) नामसंवादिनः। तथैतदुच्चैरत्युच्चैरुद्घोषयितुं न पारयन्ति किमु। हन्त। त्रिशङ्कोरिवान्तराले की स्थितिरस्य महाभारतदेवस्य। तदेवं साक्षाभासैरर्वागाकृष्यमाणस्यास्य शास्त्रतो युक्तितश्च बहुशः पर्यालोच्य तत्साधनावेषणेन पराक्प्रत्यावर्तनं न्याय्यमार्याणां भारतीयानाम्।

यथा हि अर्वाचीनैरर्वाचीनतया निर्धारितोऽपि वर्णलेखाविर्भावसमयः उत्तरोत्तरमुपलभ्यमानैः पञ्चसहस्रवर्षपूर्वत्वेन निश्चीयमानैर्मोहेञ्जोदाडोहडप्पाभूगर्भनिर्गतमुद्रालेखादिभिः सुदूरमुपर्युपरि समुत्सार्यते। तथैव सार्द्धद्विसहस्रवर्षतोऽप्यर्वाचीनतया तर्क्यमाणमिदं महाभारतं पुनः पुनः पर्यालोच्यमानायां लक्ष्यमाणैर्विशेषतो 'ग'पुस्तकपाठस्तम्भावस्थितैः सत्साधनैर्द्विगुणमुपरि प्रतिष्ठापयितुं शक्येत विदुषैकैरित्याशास्यते।

* * * *

अन्ततश्चेदं महत्सङ्कटस्थानमापद्यते। यत्

एकं शतसहस्रं हि मानुषेषु प्रतिष्ठितम्।
अस्मिंस्तु मानुषे लोके वैशंपायन उक्तवान्। १·३०*

इति 'क'पुस्तकपाठानुसारेण "एकं शतसहस्रं तु" "लक्षग्रन्थार्थसंहितम्" इत्यादि 'ग'पुस्तकेऽप्युल्लेखेन पश्चात्पूरितवर्त्मा वैशंपायनोक्तमहाभारतस्यापि लक्षपरिमाणत्वं ग्रन्थतो लभ्यते। द्वितीयपर्वसंग्रहाध्यायवाक्यैश्च सूतपूरितश्लोकास्तीकादिसहितस्य महाभारतस्यापि तत्तत्पर्वभेदेनाध्यायसंख्या श्लोकसंख्या च प्रतिपाद्यते। या किल पूर्वतनमुद्रितपुस्तकपाठानुसारेण न संवदति, समष्ट्या दृश्यमाना च हरिवंशयोजनेनापि लक्षत्वे नावतिष्ठते। संप्रति उपलभ्यमानस्य समस्तग्रन्थस्यापि परिमाणं ततो न्यूनमुल्लिख्यते परीक्षकैः। 'ग'पुस्तकस्थपर्वसंग्रहपाठस्य प्रामाणिकतया दृष्टस्यानुसरणे तु बहूनामन्तराख्यानानां त्याज्यतया भारतमहाभारतबाह्यभूतयोरनुक्रमणीपर्वसंग्रहाध्याययोः पश्चात्प्रविष्टत्वेन दर्शितानामन्वेषां च भागानां चागणनीयतया ततोऽपि न्यूनत्वमापतेत्। कथनवाशिष्टेन ग्रन्थेन संख्या संवदेत्पूर्येत च।

यदि नाम परीक्षणे प्रामाणिकपाठोपलम्भे सूतपूरितग्रन्थसहितस्य हरिवंशसहितस्य महाभारतस्य लक्षत्वं संभवेत् तदापि सूतपूरितग्रन्थवर्जं वैशंपायनो-

क्तमात्रस्यापि लक्षत्वं संपादनीयम् । तच्च यथाकथमपि स्थापयितुं कश्चन मार्गोऽन्वेषणीयः स्यात् । ग्रन्थाक्षरदर्शने हि पर्वसंग्रहाध्याये असुकपर्वाणि एतावन्तः श्लोका इति श्लोकशब्दोल्लेखदर्शनेन तत्र श्लोकसंख्योल्लेखः स्यात् । वैशंपायनीये तु "लक्षग्रन्थार्थसंहिताम्" इति श्लोकशब्दानुल्लेखेन लक्षग्रन्थमात्रोल्लेखदर्शनेन ग्रन्थसंख्योल्लेखः प्रतिभाति । सप्तशत्यादौ हि सप्तशतश्लोकाभावेऽपि तावन्मन्त्रसंख्यामादायापि तथा व्यवहारः । अष्टसाहस्रिका-पञ्चविंशतिसाहस्रिका-शतसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमितादौ अत्यत्रापि गद्यलेखे पद्यलेखे वा ३२।३२ अक्षरैकैकानुष्टुप्श्लोकानुसारेण ग्रन्थपरिमाणं कीर्त्यते, तथैव लेखकश्रुतिदानादौ च ग्रन्थसंख्या व्यवह्रियते । तन्न्यायेनात्रापि गद्यलेखान् दीर्घवृत्तश्लोकान् उवाचवाक्यानि पुष्पिकावाक्यानि सर्वाणि संयोज्य द्वात्रिंशदक्षरैकश्लोकरीत्या गणने वैशंपायनोक्तस्यापि लक्षसंख्या यथाकथमपि पूरयितुं शक्येत ननु । तथा पूरणसंभवे एषैव पूर्तेः रीतिरित्यप्यगत्या वक्तव्यमेव किल । समयवशेन वा मध्ये मध्ये ग्रन्थस्यावापेन उद्वापेन वापि संख्यायास्तथात्वं विपर्यसितुं शक्नोति ।

बहुकालपरंपरावशेन नैकधा विपरिणम्य वर्तमानां भूमिकामादाय पुरः समुपस्थिते

महत्त्वाद्भारवत्त्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते । १.१.२०९

इति निरूपितेऽस्मिन् महाग्रन्थेऽन्तरान्तरा नैकशः प्रतिहन्यमाना तर्कदृष्टिर्नैकपदे गर्भगृहं प्रविश्य प्रतिष्ठानिष्ठामधिगन्तुमलम् । यथा यथा मिथः संघर्षजमालोकमासादयति तथा तथान्तरन्तः प्रविशन्ती तत्त्वरत्नमपि कदाचिदासादयेन्नाम । तर्कः खलु सन्तमसन्तं वा साधनमुपादाय यथाकथमपि बहुभिर्बहुधा प्रवर्त्यमानोऽबाधितैः प्रमाणान्तरैः साधने दृढतामारूढ एव साधनीयं द्रढयितुं कल्पते । यावत्साधनमेवेतरेण प्रत्याहन्यते तावत्स्वात्मानमेव स्थिरीकर्तुमपारयत्कथमिव विधेयं निश्चाययेत् । तर्कस्य हि स्वतो न निष्ठा प्रतिष्ठेति तर्काप्रतिष्ठानादिति सूत्रव्याख्यायां शंकरभगवद्भिरेवं प्रतिपादितम् "निरागमाः पुरुषोत्प्रेक्षामात्रनिबन्धनास्तर्का अप्रतिष्ठिता भवन्ति । उत्प्रेक्षाया निरङ्कुशत्वात् कैश्चिदाभियुक्तैर्यत्नेनोत्प्रेक्षितास्तर्का अभियुक्ततरैराभास्यमाना दृश्यन्ते । तैरप्युत्प्रेक्षिताः सन्तस्ततोऽन्यैराभास्यन्त इति न प्रतिष्ठितत्वं तर्काणां शक्यमाश्रयितुं" इति ।

अत्र तावत्प्रारम्भग्रन्थमात्रपर्यालोचने ग्रन्थाक्षरमर्यादया प्रतिभातं यत्किंचन निदर्शितम् । अपि नामेदं विद्वद्भ्यो रोचेत । सति चैवं यथासमयं तर्कदृष्ट्यापि विचार्येत ॥

SYNTAX OF VEDIC COMPARISONS

BY

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Translated into English by A. VENKATASUBBIAH

[*Translator's Note.*— Bergaigne's paper on 'La Syntaxe des Comparaisons Vediques' is one of the many written by the pupils and admirers of Leon Renier in his memory and published in 1886 under the title *Mélanges Renier.* The paper in question is printed on pp. 75–101 of this volume; and although nearly fifty years have elapsed since its publication (and the death of its author), the views of a savant whom the recently-deceased Prof. Geldner, himself one of the foremost Ṛgveda scholars, described (*Vedische Studien*, I, Einleitung, p. XX) as 'the greatest of those proficient in the Ṛgveda in his time' cannot fail to be of interest to students of the Veda in this country.

The words of sentences containing similes are divided by Bergaigne into four groups which he calls *termes propres, termes de comparaison, termes communs* and *particule de comparaison.* The expressions 'common words' and 'particle of comparison' are intelligible equivalents of the last two; but the expression 'proper words' is misleading and does not convey the same sense as the French expression *termes propres.* I therefore translate it as *upameya-vākya,* and correspondingly, the expression *termes de comparaison* as *upamāna-vākya.* Thus, in the sentence (RV, X, 145, 6) मामनु प्र ते मनो वत्सं गौरिव धावतु the particle of comparison is *iva,* and the common word *p. adhāvatu* . the *upameya-vākya* is, strictly speaking, *te mano mām anu pradhāvatu* and the *upamāna-vākya, gaur vatsam pradhāvatu.* But since *pradhāvatu* comes under the group of 'common words', we have to leave it out, and consider, so far as the exposition in this paper is concerned, the *upameya-vākya* as consisting of the words *mām anu te manaḥ* only, and the *upamāna-vākya,* of the words *gaur vatsam.* In

this sentence, *mɪnaḥ* is the subject of the *upameya-vākya*, and *gauḥ* of the *upamāna-vākya*; *mām* is the object of the *upameya-vākya*, and *vatsam* of the *upamāna-vākya*. Similarly, in the sentence (RV. VII, 59, 12) उर्वारुकमिवबन्धनान्मृत्योर्मुक्षीय मामृतात्, *mṛtyor* is the ablative of the *upameya-vākya* and *bandhanāt* of the *upamāna-vākya*; and in the sentence (RV. I, 91, 13) सोम रारन्धि नो हृदि गावो न यवसेष्वा, *hṛdi* is the locative of the *upameya-vākya* and *yavaseṣu* of the *upamāna-vākya*.

To avoid tedious repetition, I have, in what follows, omitted the word *vākya* after *upameya* and *upamāna*; and except in the few instances where these two words are used in their proper meanings, readers should always supply the word *vākya* after them.

To facilitate verification of references I have added in thick type the page-numbers of the original, and have also, with respect to each footnote, indicated on what page of the original it occurs.]

[**75**] Vedic syntax has a certain number of peculiarities which have not yet been made the subject of any special study, or which even appear to have been passed over almost unnoticed. They nevertheless furnish the solution of many problems of interpretation that have been solved too hastily, either by proposing corrections of the text, or by the supposition of unknown forms, or by the attribution of new meanings to words. I shall notice here two or three only of these peculiarities; and I shall study them in connection with only one category of phrases in which they are met with, not exclusively, but, as it seems to me, more frequently than elsewhere, to wit, in the similes. The examples are taken from the Saṃhitās of the Ṛg. and the Atharva-Veda, but principally from the first, where the similes are more numerous and more interesting. To that book should be referred all the quotations not accompanied by the letters A. V. (Atharva Veda).

The similes with which we are conncerned are not those that

[**76**] contain two propositions[1] with 'as' and a 'so'[2] like the following:

IV, 12, 6 = X, 126, 8. यथा ह त्यद्वसवो गौर्यं चित्पदि षिता-ममुञ्चता यजत्राः । एवो ष्व१ स्मन्मुञ्चता व्यंहः ।

In such comparisons, one can notice more than once, as in the above example itself, an absence of symmetry between the two members (the accusative *gauryam* and the ablative *asmat*[3]). But such matters belong to the province of style rather than to that of syntax.[4]

It is in the comparisons formed of a single proposition and including in one construction the *upamāna*, *upameya*, and the common terms that the Vedic syntax offers examples of unusual boldness, or, if one prefers it, awkwardness. This is however explained naturally by the complication inherent in formulas of this type.

The principal, and the most ordinary, case is that where the common terms[5] constitute with the *upameya* a complete proposi-

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1. (= p. 76 n. 1.) Such comparisons are, relatively, much less numerous, and with the rare exceptions of VIII, 7, 3; 47, 17; X, 60, 3 and 9; A. V. III, 6, 6; X, 1, 32, belong to the class, not of poetical comparisons, but of *historical* comparisons. They are II, 30, 4; III, 17, 2; 36, 3; VIII, 36, 7; 42, 5 and 6; IX, 82, 5; X, 7, 6; 149, 5; 151, 3; Vāl. 6, 2. The poetical comparison is sometimes expressed in two propositions with a "moderating" *nu* or *iva*, followed by a conjunction or relative pronoun: I, 33, 8; 68, 9; VI, 75, 1; X, 43, 5; 75, 3 and 4.

2. (= p. 76 n. 2). "So" is sometimes to be understood, VIII, 3, 12; 4, 3; X, 191, 2 or even "as" V, 2, 7.

3. (= p. 76 n. 3). See V, 78, 7 and 8; Vāl. 2, 9; A. V., V. 21, 4.

4. (= p. 76 n. 4). There should however be mentioned as particularly bold the construction of the verse VIII, 57, 1-, तं त्वा यज्ञेभि रीमहे... इन्द्र यथा चिदाविंथ वाजेषु पुरुमाय्यम् (compare, on the one hand, Vāl. 1, 9 and, on the other hand, I, 175, 6; it is possible for one to waver between the two comparisons).

5. (=p. 76 n. 5). In the front rank of common terms should naturally be placed the verb, which however, is often common only by metaphor, II, 16, 7; 28, 4; VIII, 82, 3 and *passim*. The rarest and also the most curious case is that where a verb which suits the *upamāna* only is extended into the comparison, III, 38, 1, अभि तष्टेव दीधया मनीषाम् | Cf. III 2, 3; X, 40, 4.

tion to which is added, by means of one of the particles *ná, iva, yáthā* or *yathā*, [1]

[**77**] the word or words expressing the *upamāna*, having the same case as the *upameya*, and forming a sort of appendage, attached either at the beginning.

I, 106, 1 **रथं न दुर्गाद्वसवः सुदानवो विश्वस्मान्नो अंहसो निष्पिपर्तन ।**, or at the end.

III, 45, 1. मा त्वा के चिन्नि यमन्वि **न पाशिनः ।**, or in the middle, like a parenthetical clause :-

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[1] (= p. 76. n. 6). The particles *na, iva* and *yathā* without accent are always placed after the *upamāna*, usually after the first word but sometimes also after the first two words, namely, after a substantive accompanied by its epithet, X, 134, 6, or a participle accompanied by its object, X, 94, 13, cf. X, 78, 4, or even after two terms that are independent of each other, X, 89, 7; 97, 8; 106, 1; 119, 3.

The words expressing the *upameya* are, fairly often, to be understood, for example, an object in the accusative case I, 121, 9 and 13; IV, 39, 5; VIII, 34, 3; 51, 6; IX, 70, 10; X, 68, 2; 131, 5; 178, 2; A. V., V, 26, 5; XII, 3, 23, expressed however sometimes immediately before, X, 116, 9, or after, I, 116, 1; II, 33, 6; VI, 64, 3 or suggested by, a genitive which depends upon it, X, 68, 9; the indirect object, II, 28, 6; the subject VIII, 92, 11, not to speak of words added in the comparison to which there is nothing corresponding in the *upameya* : the instrumental I, 34, 1; 116, 24; 130, 4 and 10; 166, 11; II, 2, 5; 27, 16; 34, 2; V, 4, 9; VI, 68, 8; 75, 14; VIII, 72, 3; IX, 17, 1; A. V., II, 12, 3; the locative II, 2, 2; IV, 17, 16; VIII, 40, 1; X, 89, 14; the ablative VI, 16, 38; X, 106, 2, and even the accusative III, 45, 4; VI, 47, 14. At other times it is, on the contrary, a word of the comparison which is omitted as in verse I, 114, 9, उप ते स्तोमान्पशुपा इवाकरम् where गाः the object not mentioned, is suggested by the subject पशुपाः, cf. I, 55, 1; IV, 6, 2; V, 55, 4; 61, 17; VIII, 64, 12, and VII, 104, 2 where one obtains an excellent meaning by understanding *agnim*, suggested by अग्निवान् (*tapus* is a nominative that is to be construed with *agham*). In the verses V, 25, 9; VIII, 85, 11, the direct object of the comparison is suggested by an instrumental. The instrumental suggests the subject in the verses I, 185, 1; III, 33, 2; 36, 6 (the comparison of these two passages is sufficient to dismiss the hypothesis of a dual रथ्या). One also sees in formulae that are consecutive, I, 97, 7 and 8, cf. 30 14 and 15, or merely parallel VIII, 35, 7; 8; 9 and 45, 24 the object in the *upameya* at times suggesting the object in the *upamāna*, and at times the object in the comparison suggesting the object proper.

Vāl. 4, 4. तं त्वा वयं सुदुघामिव गोदुहो जुहूमसि श्रवस्यवः ।

The *upamāna* moreover can be more or less remote from the corresponding *upameya* as in the verse VIII, 35, 19 and in the following example where this remoteness or some totally different reason has deceived Grassmann and led him into error :-

[78] I, 26, 4. आ नो बर्ही रिशादसो वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा । सीदन्तु मनुषो यथा ॥

The meaning is : may the gods sit on the altar of their suppliants, not ' as of men (as of natural persons ?) ', but as they have sat on that of Manus.[1]

Similarly, the intercalated simile may cause a hyperbaton more or less strong in the words of the *upameya* or in the common terms, A. V., VI, 2, 2, आ यं विशन्तीन्दवो वयो न वृक्षं मन्धसः । Cf. I, 173, 3; IV, 31, 13; X, 68, 2 and 5; 72, 2; 91, 7 and *passim*.

Finally, the hyperbaton may be in the interior of the simile itself, I, 32, 2, उपे दहं धनदामप्रतीतं जुष्टां न श्येनो वसतिं पतामि । Cf. I, 186, 7.

The peculiarities that are really worthy of notice occur when the common terms or even the words of the *upameya* are included in the simile, and when the words of the *upamāna* are not in the same case as those of the corresponding *upameya*. Finally, the relations among themselves of the words of the *upamāna* give rise similarly to observations of importance. To these three heads correspond the three distinct parts of the present memoir.

I. INCLUSION OF THE COMMON TERMS WITHIN THE SIMILE.

The inclusion of the common terms within the simile may be, and in fact most frequently is, a mere question of the order of words. Thus the common epithet of the two subjects is thus included in the simile in the following example :-

VII, 22, 1. पिबा सोममिन्द्र मन्दतु त्वा यं ते

[1] (= p. 78 n. 1.) Ludwig has thought of this meaning in his commentary ; to me it appears to be absolutely certain.

[79] सुषाव हर्यश्वाद्रिः । सोतुर्बाहुभ्यां **सुयतो नार्वा**[1] ॥ Cf. III, 2, 11.

The common subject in this :

V, 36, 2. आ ते हनू हरिवः शूर शिप्रे रुहत्**सोमो न** पर्वतस्य पृष्ठे ।

The direct object in :

IX, 84, 2. कृण्वन्त्सञ्चृतं विचृतमभिष्टय इन्दुः सिषक्त्युषसं **न** सूर्यः ।

Cf. I, 52, 5 ; IV, 40, 3 ; V, 15, 5 ; IX, 110, 6 ; X, 79, 6.

The indirect object in :

अध्वर्यवो यो अपो ववृवांसं वृत्रं जघान **शन्येव** वृक्षम् । Cf. IV, 41, 8.

The genitive, separated moreover through hyperbaton from the word, equally common, on which it depends :

IV, 45, 4. **मध्वो न** मक्षः सवनानि गच्छथः ।

What shows clearly that the explanation of such instances should not be sought for in an unusual construction of *na* or *iva*[2] at the beginning of the comparison, are examples like the following where the *upamāna* is placed before the common term which is itself followed by the particle of comparison :

V, 56, 5. मरुतां पुरुतममपूर्व्यं **गवां सर्गमिव** ह्वये ।

VIII, 32, 23. **सूर्यो रश्मिं यथा** सृज ।[3]

X, 134, 6. पूर्वेण मघवन्पदाऽजो **वयां यथा** यमः ।[4] Cf. also X, 68, 4 ; 127, 4.

Or examples like this which force one to understand with a genitive of the *upameya* the common term that is expressed with the genitive of the *upamāna* :

X, 68, 7. आण्डेव भित्त्वा **शकुनस्य गर्भमुदुस्रियाः पर्वतस्य** त्मनाजत् ।

Cf. IV, 38, 8.

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[1] (= p. 79 n. 1). The epithet *suyatas* "well-guided" seems to be common: it is the only mark of similarity between the pressing-stone and the horse.

[2] (= p. 79 n. 2). In the case of *iva* which is without accent, the hypothesis would seem to be monstrous.

[3] (= p. 79 n. 3) Regarding the meaning, see below, p. 85.

[4] (= p. 79 n. 4). Here the subject appertaining to the *upamāna* is preceded by an instrumental that belongs equally to the simile.

Often, it is the verb itself, that is to say, the term essentially common, that is included in the construction of the comparison.

[**80**] In a good number of cases, it is possible to choose between this interpretation and the hypothesis of a hyperbaton which removes to outside the simile either an epithet of one of its terms,

IX, 67, 12. अयं त आघृणे सुतो घृतं न पवते शुचिं ।

Or, on the other hand, a term foreshadowed by its epithet,

I, 58, 5. तपुर्जम्भो वन आ वातचोदितो यूथे न साह्वाँ अव वाति वंसगः ।

Cf. I, 173, 11; V, 7, 7; X, 89, 8, [1]

or by a genitive which depends upon it,

I, 116, 15. चारित्रं हि वेरिवाच्छेदि पर्णम् ।

Or, finally, an indirect object,

II, 14, 11. तमूर्दरं न पृणता यवेनेन्द्रं सोमेभिस्तदपो वो अस्तु ।

Cf. VI, 46, 14.

In truth, the second explanation seems to be very crude in those cases where an essential word, the subject for instance, is thus removed without having been even foreshadowed :

V, 51, 7. सुता इन्द्राय वायवे सोमासो दध्याशिरः । निम्नं न यन्ति सिन्धवः ॥ Cf. III, 1, 4; VI, 24, 6.

But what shows that such an explanation is possible, even in this case, is the fact that a similar hyperbaton is met with in the case of the direct object of the simile in some sentences where the verb can be connected with the subject of the *upameya*[2] only :

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[1] (= p. 80 n. 1). In the verse I, 167, 3, a prefix replacing the verb is placed as the verb itself would have been स्मावती विदथ्येव सं वाक् । We see similarly a prefix detached from the verb in order that it may be included within the simile, VI, 57, 5 ; Vāl. 1. 2. Cf. also VI, 20, 1 ; 34, 4 (p. 83 below, note 2).

[2] (= p. 80 n. 2) It is so in the verse X 89, 12, where the word removed by hyperbaton is only an epithet of the subject (see above), and in the verse III, 15, 5, where it is an accusative of goal.

A. V. VI, 54, 1. अस्य. क्षत्रं श्रियं महीं वृष्टिरिव वर्धया तृणम् ।
Cf. I, 32, 14.

There are however cases where the inclusion of the verb in the simile cannot be denied. This is when it has different subjects, i. e., subjects differing in number or in person, and instead of being construed with the subject of the *upameya* and understood with that of the *upamāna*, it is, on the contrary, construed with the latter :

[81] VIII, 6, 38. अनु त्वा रोदसी उभे चक्रं न वर्त्येतशम् ।

Nothing is plainer than such a formation.[1] The two worlds obey Indra as the wheel obeys the horse Etaśa : the plural "obey" is understood, while the singular " obeys " is expressed.

Similarly, in the following clause : " If we have cheated, as the gamblers cheat at play ", of the two persons, first and third, it is the third[2] and not the first that has been chosen :

V, 85, 8. कितवासो यद्रिरिपुर्न दीवि यद्वा घा सत्यमुत यन्न विद्म ।

It has even happened here that the simile has taken in all the words in itself ; for the pronoun " we " is understood and suggested only by what follows. On the other hand, it is this pronoun that is expressed in the following example, where, whatever sense one may attach to the whole, one can hardly fail to see another example of the construction of the verb with the subject of the *upamāna* :[3]

I, 66, 9. तं वश्वराथा वयं वसत्यास्तं न गावो नक्षन्त इद्धम् ।

Finally, a relative pronoun representing the subject of the *upameya* can itself be attracted, at the same time as the verb, to the number of the subject of the *upmāna* :

I, 190, 2. तमूत्विया उप वाचः सचन्ते सर्गो न यो देवयतामसर्जि ।

Another explanation, much more simple, at first sight, than the above, would consist in making the relative here refer to

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[1] (= p. 81 n. 1). Ludwig brings in here his theory of the infinitive on its way to become the finite verb ; *varti* would be a form of this type.

[2] (= p. 81 n. 2). A novel infinitive according to the theory of Ludwig.

[3] (= p. 81 n. 3). Ludwig, in his commentary, seems to have tacitly adopted such a view. Or, is *nākṣante* also, according to him, an infinitive ?

sargas; but I do not know if there is a single example in the Vedic language of a relative clause qualifying in this way a word of the *upamāna*.[1] On the other hand, the analogy,

[**82**] of the constructions pointed out above seems to furnish a satisfactory explanation of this : *asarji* is construed with *sargas*, and *yas*, instead of यौः, through attraction.

The same analogy can account for the following prayer addressed to the Maruts; only, we see here an additional peculiarity, namely, the repetition of the verb with the number and person required by the subject of the *upameya*, after it has been employed once with the subject of the *upamāna* :

VII, 58, 3. गतो नाध्वा वि तिराति जन्तुं प्र णः स्पार्हाभिरूतिभिस्तिरेत ।

Here, too, one should not allow oneself to be misled by appearances and admit, contrary to all analogy, a simile containing two propositions which would be possible only with यथा Cf. also VI, 50, 10 and VIII, 12, 5.

We may observe in this connection that the repetition of a common word, after it has been employed once in the simile, is met with not only in the case of the verb, but, for instance, in the case of the direct object :

I, 130, 4. तष्टेव वृक्षं वनिनो नि वृश्चसि । Cf. also I, 67, 5 ; X, 31, 9.

Like the finite verb, a participle or adjective that is employed as common attribute, can agree in number with the word used in the *upamāna* :

VIII, 20, 20. साहा ये सन्ति मुष्टिहेव हव्यो विश्वासु पृत्सु होतृषु (the Maruts).

It could also agree in gender with that word :

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[1] (= p. 81 n. 4) In the verse IX, 97, 46, a formula almost identical with this is explained without difficulty, the subject of the *upameya* having the same number as that of the *upamāna*. The inclusion of the relative pronoun, through simple hyperbaton, among the words of the simile, is met with fairly frequently, I, 73, 2; IX, 97, 48 (and 46) ; X, 95 10; to which may be added VI, 20, 1; 34, 4 (see below p. 33, note 2).

I, 163, 11. तव॒ शरी॑रं पतयिष्ण्व॑र्वन्तर्व॑ चि॒त्तं वात॑ इव॒ ध्रजी॑मान् ।

Cf. II, 11, 1.

I do not lay stress on these last-mentioned formations where the participle or adjective can also be regarded as an epithet of the word used in the *upamāna* only. It is however none the less true that, as regards the sense, they are attributes, common[1] attributes.

As belonging to the same category, we may cite the instance of a common epithet that agrees with a neuter word in the *upamāna*,

[83] and is understood with a feminine word in the *upameya*, which however does not prevent it from becoming the attributive adjunct of the object in the *upameya* and at the same time in the *upamāna* also :

X, 68, 10. हि॒मेव॑ पर्णा॒ मु॑षि॒ता॒ वना॑नि बृह॒स्पति॑ना॒ कृप॑यद्वलो॒ गाः ।

Similarly, the common terms of the comparison may be made to agree with the words of the *upamāna* even when they have to be understood with different gender, different number, and, in the case of the verbs, with different person, in connection with the words of the *upameya*. Though such instances are most infrequent, they are nevertheless most characteristic.

It has been seen that the examples where the order only of the words is in question, can often, and must sometimes, be explained by mere hyperbaton. We may add, in conclusion, that the effect of the hyperbaton may be the apparent enclosing, within the comparison, of not only a common term, but of words belonging to the *upameya* also :

VIII, 92, 7. अश्वं॑ न गी॒र्भी र॒थ्यं॑ सु॒दान॑वो॒ मर्मृ॑ज्यन्ते॑ देव॒यवः॑ । Cf. I, 59, 1.

The pronouns, in particular are often met with enclosed in this manner :

VII, 3, 6. दि॒वो न तें॑ तन्यतु॒रेति॒ शुष्मः॑ । Cf. VI, 24. 3.[2]

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[1] (= p. 82 n. 1). See moreover, p. 95 below, verse VIII, 91 15.

[2] (= p. 83 n. 1). With the emendation, that is very plausible, of *nū* into *na*.

The verb is found intercalated in the comparison at the same time as the direct object of the *upameya* in the following example :

I, 52, 7. ह्रदं न हि त्वा न्यृषन्त्यूर्मयो ब्रह्माणीन्द्र तव यानि वर्धना ।

This degree of hyperbaton turns to amphigouri.[1] The removal of the subject of the *upamāna* to beyond the direct object of the *upameya* produces an effect that is no less grotesque :

IV, 16, 13. पञ्चाशत्कृष्णा नि वपः सहस्रात्कं न पुरो जरिमा वि दर्दः ।

We should hasten to add that the amphigouri in the comparisons

[84] is but a particular case of the Vedic amphigouri. Here is an example where the word that is separated from the group to which it belongs is the subject of the principal clause, strayed into the subordinate clause :

VII, 43, 1. प्र वो यज्ञेषु देवयन्तो अर्चन्द्यावा नमोभिः पृथिवी इषध्यै ।
येषां ब्रह्माण्यसमानि विप्रा विष्वग्वियन्ति वनिनो न शाखाः ॥

II. IMPERFECT CONCORD BETWEEN THE WORDS OF THE UPAMĀNA AND THOSE OF THE UPAMEYA

Let us observe at the outset that the concord between the words of the *upamāna* and those of the *upameya*, even where it is perfect, is sometimes very artificial. Thus, the relation expressed by the same seeming case can be quite different in connection with the word in the *upameya* from what it is in connection with the word of the *upamāna*.[2] This is so with regard to the two locatives in a sentence where the praise addressed " to Agni " is compared to the sun ascending " in the sky " :

V, 1, 12. गविष्ठिरो नमसा स्तोममग्नौ दिवीव रुक्ममुरुव्यञ्चमश्रेत् ।

Cf. X, 68, 8.

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1 (= p. 83 n. 2). Cf. the inclusion, already pointed out above (p. 81 note 4), of a relative pronoun within the comparison, and above all, the verses VI, 10, 1 and 34, 4 where the relative pronoun (the conjunction in the second example) is found intercalated at the same time as one or two prefixes that usher the verb.

2 (=p. 84 n. 1). See also I, 39, 1, where the position of the words belonging to the *upameya* and to the *upmāna* appear to be quite transposed.

The Vedic language expresses by the same verb the idea of untying a knot and of liberating a prisoner, by another, that of taking the reins of horses and of curbing them, or, in the representation of races, by a third, that of " bending " into a circle the rim of a wheel and of making a god favourably " disposed " towards his suppliants ; it is none the less strange that the direct objects associated with the verb in such different relations should be compared among themselves :

X, 143, 2. दृळ्हं ग्रन्थिं न वि ष्यतमद्रिं यविष्ठमा रजः ।

I, 141, 11. रश्मीँ रिव यो यमति जन्मनी उभे ।

[85] VII, 32, 20. आ व इन्द्रं पुरुहूतं नमे गिरा नेमिं तष्टेव सुद्वम् ।

One meets in Atharva-veda I, 11, 6 with a similar misuse of the two meanings, ' to fly ' and ' to fall ' of the root *pat*.

In the following examples, the poet misuses the different meanings of the same prefix :

A. V. VI, 12, 1. परि द्यामिव सूर्योऽहीनां जनिमा गमम् ।

VIII, 66, 3. समित्तान्वृत्रहा खिदत्खे अराँ इव खेदया ।

We may remark in this connection that the word *raśmi*, signifying literally ' rein ' and by metaphor ' ray of the sun ' is taken as the common term of a comparison between Indra ' loosing the reins ' of his horses and the sun ' darting forth his rays ' : VIII, 32, 23. सूर्यो रश्मिं यथा सृजा त्वा यच्छन्तु मे गिरः । One can also cite, among other word-plays that have furnished pretexts for comparisons, the numerous passages where the same word denotes the tree on which the bird perches and the wood in which Agni burns, I, 66, 2 ; X, 91, 2 ; 115, 3, or, indeed, the wooden vat to which the Soma juice runs, IX, 57, 3 ; 96, 23 ; cf. 33, 1, and towards which the gods for whom it is destined, rush, VIII, 35, 7.

Another kind of imperfect or artificial concord is that which the ṛṣis set up between the container and the contained :

I, 130, 2. पिबा सोममिन्द्र सुवानमद्रिभिः कोशेन सिक्तमवृतं न वंसगः ।

Between the raw material and the product:

IV, 22, 8. पिपीळे अंशुर्मद्यो न सिन्धुः । Cf. VII, 68, 8.

Between the concrete and the abstract:

IX, 70, 6. **नानदद्देति** मरुतामिव स्वनः (Soma). Cf. I, 100, 13; III, 54, 14.

This relation has been misunderstood in the verse VII, 56, 8 in which the irritable minds of the Maruts are compared to the ascetic [1]

[**86**] who is angry (whose meditations have been disturbed): शुभ्रो वः शुष्मः **क्रुध्मी मनांसि धुनिर्मुनिरिव** शर्धस्य धृष्णोः।

It is particularly grating in the verse IX, 88,5 where one would expect the genitive instead of the nominative: **जनो न युध्वा** महत उपब्दिः ।

The same observation applies to the relation between the whole and the part in the verse I, 58, 2: अत्यो न पृष्ठं प्रुषितस्य रोचते ।

In a category totally different, we may also mention as examples of purely artificial concord the phenomena of attraction, like, for instance, the parallel construction of two accusatives, one of which, the *upamāna*, does not depend really, as regards the sense, on the verb which governs the *upameya*. Thus, in the following verse, it is "the young god" (Rudra), terrible like the wild beast, that is praised, but not "the wild beast"; the two words are nevertheless formed alike in the accusative:

II, 33, 11. स्तुहि श्रुतं गर्तसदं युवानं मृगं न भीममुपहत्नुमुग्रम् ।

Here however the matter in question is a peculiarity which can on no account be regarded as an irregularity. The Vedic language does not seem to know of any other construction in cases of this kind, cf. I, 131, 2; VII, 85, 1; VIII, 77, 2, etc., and it is not less usual in classical Sanskrit

[1] (= p. 85 n. 1). Whatever Roth, followed by Grassmann, may say in this connection, the meaning 'impetuosity' is a hypothesis without basis. So is the meaning 'silence' conjectured by Ludwig. The *manis* are praised in another hymn of the Rgveda. X, 136. The hyperbaton which one has to admit in my interpretation is no more strong than many others, for instance, that in A. V. VI, 2, 2.

One even finds, though exceptionally, the *upamāna* attracted to the vocative case by the *upameya* :

I, 30, 21. वयं हि ते अमन्मह्यान्तादा पराकात् । **अश्वे न चित्रे अरुषि** (the Dawn). Cf. I, 57, 3.

We pass on now from artificial concord to defective concord.

In cases where it is possible to express the same relation by two different constructions, we see frequently one

[**87**] employed in respect of the *upameya* and the other in respect of the *upamāna* :

V, 1, 4. **अग्निमच्छा** देवयतां मनांसि चक्षूंषीव **सूर्ये** सं चरन्ति । Cf. 1, 30, 4; 57, 2; II, 16, 1; V, 43, 7; VII, 43, 3; 103, 7.

We should note here particularly the cases where the comparison is expressed by a sort of locative absolute while the words of the *upameya* are construed with a finite verb :

I, 181, 8. वृषा वां मेघो वृषणा **पीपाय गोर्न सेके** मनुषो दशस्यन् । Cf. IX, 47, 5; A. V. XII, 1, 18.

The concord is similarly defective, for diverse reasons, in the following comparisons, in which we shall content ourselves by drawing attention to the words which correspond in respect of the meaning, but do not correspond in respect of the construction:

I, 83, 1. तमित्पृणक्षि **वसुना** भवीयसा सिन्धुमापो यथाभितो विचेतसः ।

I, 84, 1 आ त्वा पृणक्त्विन्द्रियं रजः सूर्यो न **रश्मिभिः** ।

I, 185, 2. नित्यं न सूनुं **पित्रो** रुपस्थे **द्यावा** रक्षतं **पृथिवी** नो अभ्वात् ।

I, 187, 11. तं त्वा वयं पितो **वचोभिर्गावो** न हव्या सुषूदिम ।

IV, 31, 4. अभी न आ ववृत्स्व चक्रं न वृत्तमर्वतः । **नियुद्भिश्चर्षणीनाम्** ॥

Here is, belonging to the same category, an instance most strange :

VI, 3, 4. विजेहमानः **परशुर्न जिह्वाम्** (Agni).

The word *paraśu* ' axe ' is in the nominative, apparently because the tongue of the fire which is compared to an axe is no other than the fire itself.

In all these examples, if the symmetry is violated (and, in the last example, the common sense also, seemingly), the syntax is, on the whole, preserved. It remains always possible to make such indifferent ' word-for-word ' comparisons. The double construction of the agent noun with the genitive or accusative can also account for the following :

[**88**] II, 23, 2. **उस्रा इव** सूर्यो ज्योतिषा महो विश्वेषामेज्जनिता ब्रह्मणा मसि ।

X, 22, 3. **भर्ता वज्रस्य** धृष्णोः पिता पुत्रमेव प्रियम् ।

It is also shown however by the observations that follow here that it is quite possible that there is no kind of syntactical relation between the agent-nouns *janitā*, *bhartā* and the accusatives employed as upamānas.

It cannot, indeed, be gainsaid that the anacoluthon, of which one finds instances in all kinds of Vedic construction, is particularly frequent in the comparisons. It is true that the presence of the anacoluthon is often made evident by the introduction, in some mechanical manner, of a formula already in use. But, precisely with respect to the second at least of the examples cited, it would not be difficult to point out the component parts of a similar formula in more than one comparison with the father, I, 38, 1; X, 69, 10, cf. VI, 16, 20, or the mother, VI, 75, 4, carrying his (her) son (in the accusative) in his (her) arms.

Be that as it may, there can remain no doubt about such passages as these :

VIII, 81, 12. वयमुत्वा शतक्रतो **गाव्रो न यवसेष्वा** । उक्थेषु रणयामसि ॥

There ought to be here an accusative *gāḥ*, depending, like *iṣā*, on the causative *raṇayāmasi*. But the nominative, *gāvaḥ*, has

been furnished by the formulas constructed with the primitive verb, I, 91, 13: सोम **रारन्धि** नो हृदि **गावो न यवसेष्वा** (Cf. V, 53, 16; X, 25, 1).

VI, 49, 12. स पिस्पृशति तन्वि श्रुतस्य **स्तृभिर्न नाकं** वचनस्य विप्रः । The formula स्तृभि र्न नाकम् (cf. द्यौर्न स्तृभिः II, 2, 5; 34, 2; I, 166, 11 and in the accusative, IV, 7, 3 and I, 68, 10), is not to be construed with the verb *pispṛśati*, but with the idea of ' to be adorned ' which is implied by the sentence as a whole.

I, 39, 9. असामि हि प्रयज्यवः कण्वं दद प्रचेतसः । असामिभिर्मरुत आ न **ऊतिभिर्गन्ता वृष्टिं न विद्युतः** ॥ A comparison with the verse IX, 100, 3, त्वं **धियं** मनोयुजं **सृजा वृष्टिं न तन्यतुः** is enough to show that what is spoken of here is not 'lightnings going

[89] towards the rain' but 'lightnings giving rain.' For the construction to be regular, instead of ' come with helps, ' there should be 'give us your helps.' It will be noticed that it is precisely this verb 'to give' that is actually employed in the preceding sentence.[1]

X, 142,2 प्र सस्तयः प्र सनिषन्त नो धियः **पुरश्चरन्ति पशुपा इव** त्मना । The shepherd does not, to my knowledge, walk usually at the head of the herd. The subject in the *upamāna* is therefore to be construed, not with the verb ' to go ' that is acutually employed, but with a verb 'to send' which is present here in the spirit; cf. the formula of the verse I, 114,9, उप ते स्तोमान्पशुपा इवाकरम् । The word ' shepherd ' implies the comparison of the hymns with cows.

X, 40, 6. युवोर्ह मक्षा पर्यश्विना मध्वासा भरत **निष्कृतं न योषणा** । The formula निष्कृतं न योषणा has been furnished by sentences which contain a verb meaning 'to go' X. 34, 5; cf. IX, 93, 2 and I,

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[1] (= p. 89 n. 1). I agree with Ludwig (commentary) in regard to the meaning.

123, 9; IX. 69, 4; 86, 32.[1] It is brought in here in a new sentence in which the idea of going is not actually expressed but only suggested by the expression of another section.

I, 132, 5. इन्द्रं ओक्यं दिधिषन्त धीतयो देवाँ अच्छा न धीतयः ।

Here too, the formula used in the comparison is related to a verb 'to go,' which is only suggested, while it is actually expressed, for instance, in the verse I, 139, 1.

VIII, 32, 23. सूर्यो रश्मिं यथा सृजा त्वा यच्छन्तु मे गिरः । निम्नमापो न सध्र्यक्[2] ॥ The formula occurs already in the verse IV. 47, 2, युवां हि यन्तीन्दवो निम्नमापो न सध्र्यक् and forms here an anacoluthon even when the comparison with the waters which follow the descent is referred to the praises. But it is also possible,

[90] that the comparison may refer to Indra who comes down conducted by the praises. Cf. I, 83, 2; 181, 8.

In the verse VIII, 3, 23, यस्मा अन्ये दश प्रति धुरं वहन्ति वह्नयः । अस्तं वयो न तुग्र्यम् ॥ it is clearly the verb *vah* that suits the formula, as can be seen by another passage, VIII, 63, 14: सुरयासो अभि प्रयो वक्षन्वयो न तुग्र्यम्. The construction forms none the less an anacoluthon, since the matter spoken of is, on the one hand, 'carrying the yoke' and on the other, 'carrying some one to his house.' The passage could therefore be ranged among the examples of artificial symmetry. The admitted existence however of the formula वयो न तुग्र्यम् has led me to place it here.

An analogous instance is furnished by the verse VI, 75, 4, ते आचरन्ती समनेव योषा (the two ends of the bow). The formula

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[1] (= p. 89 n. 2). It is this which prohibits us from acquiescing in the meaning 'prepared nourishment' which Ludwig assigns to the word *niṣkṛtam* 'rendezvous'.

The 'fly' which carries a sweet beverage to the Aśvins 'with its mouth' is naturally the priest who offers them his hymn of praise and who 'approaches as a woman does the rendezvous'.

[2] (= p. 89 n. 3). Regarding the first comparison, see p. 85 above.,

is met with again in, for instance, the versse IV, 58, 8: अभि प्रवन्त समनेव योषाः कल्याण्यः स्मयमानासो अग्निम् । The first passage limps in that a comparison applicable to one of the two individuals of a couple is there applied to the couple itself.

The ends of the bow themselves figure in a formula of comparison whose construction is almost[1] regular, in the verseX,166,3, अत्रैव वोपि नह्याम्युभे आर्त्नी इव ज्यया but which appears again in the verse I, 1, 3 of the Atharva-veda in a veritable rigmarole: इहै वामि वि तनू मे आर्त्नी इव ज्यया । वाचस्पति र्नि यच्छतु मय्ये वास्तु मयि श्रुतम् ॥ The suppliant prays to Vācaspati to assure to him the knowledge of efficacious formulae. The god should fix[2] it to him and attach it there ' like the two ends of the bow with the cord. ' Only, instead of employing here a verb signifying ' to tie,' the poet has employed one meaning ' to bend', which would suit the cord alone.[3]

[**91**] In the verse X, 62, 9: न तमश्नोति कश्चन दिव इव सान्वारभम्, the anacoluthon is indicated only by the additional word. The accusative infinitive *ārabham* is explained only by the idea of 'to be able ', which is actually expressed in the verse IX, 73, 3, धीरा इच्छेकुर्धरुणेष्वारभम् but is merely suggested here by the verb *aśnoti.*

In the verse VIII, 43, 32, स त्वमग्ने विभावसुः सृजन्त्सूर्यो न रश्मिभिः। शर्धन्तमांसि जिघ्नसे, the word *sṛ́jan* would make one expect रश्मीन्

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[1] (= p. 90 n. 1). I say ' almost ', because the dual number of the *upamāna* is not at all called for by the *upameya.*

[2] (= p. 90 n. 2) *nī yacchatu.* Weber (*Indische Studien,* IV, p. 393) gives to this expreession, as also to the expression *nī ramaya* of the preceding verse, an intransitive sense which seems to be incompatible wit their form and with their use in other passages.

[3] (= p. 90 n. 3). Weber (*ibid.*) introduces the idea of ' arm: ' "Stretch here thy arms, like those of the bow with the cord." This is only a makeshift. It would be much better to detach the second pāda from the first and join it to the third. But it seems plain that the idea of the second pāda has more affinity with the root *tan* than with the root *yam.*

cf VIII, 32, 23; but *raśmibhis* is without doubt due to the formula सूर्यो न रश्मिभिः that is already used in I, 84, 1 and IX, 41, 5. It is however also possible to explain it by construing it with *jighnase* (*raśmīn* being understood with *sṛ́jān.*) [1]

On the contrary, the anacoluthon passes all bounds in the following example:

I, 30, 2. शतं वा यः शुचीनां सहस्रं वा समाशिराम् । एदु निम्नं न रीयते ॥ Here it is the verb itself that has been borrowed from known formulae, X, 40, 9, आस्मै रीयन्ते निवनेव सिन्धवः cf. I, 85, 3 and placed without any concern for the syntax at the end of a proposition in which the accusative should have been the subject, and the nominative, its indirect or direct object (denoting goal.)[2]

The influence of formulae is particularly manifest when it is exercised by one stanza on the stanza that follows:

X, 10, 7. वि चिद्वृहेव रथ्येव चक्रा ॥ 8. तेन वि वृह रथ्येव चक्रा[3] ॥

Or even on the stanza that precedes :

[92] X, 69, 5 शूरं इव धृष्णुश्चयवनः सुमित्रः प्रनु वोचं वाध्र्यश्वस्य नाम । 6 शूरं इव धृष्णुश्चयवनो जनानां त्वमग्ने पृतनायूँरभि ष्याः ।

But even in the absence of a known formula, one should not hesitate to admit anacoluthons of the same type. For, in the first place, the formula may have been in use and yet not have been preserved for us; and secondly, one should not ignore the rights of individuals to give free play to their fancy. The anacoluthon, in fact, is due as much to syllepsis as to the misuse of formulae.

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[1] (= p. 91 n. 1). Grassmann and Ludwig admit here a construction of *sṛj* with the instrumental; this also is only a makeshift.

[2] (= p. 91 n. 2). Ludwig has very clearly seen the proper construction. Grassmann, on the other hand, has allowed himself to be impeded by the improbable hypothesis of a transitive use of the verb आ रीयते

[3] (= p. 91 n. 3). It is difficult to see what Ludwig gains by decomposing *vṛheva* into *vṛha iva* in the first stanza, where precisely the dual of the verb justifies the dual of the *upamāna*. Cf. above VI, 75, 4, p. 90 and note 1.

Thus, in the verse I, 180, 9, प्र यद्वहेथे महिना रथस्य प्र स्यन्द्रा याथो मनुषो न होता I feel greatly inclined to believe that the comparison मनुषो न होता 'like the hotṛ of Manus' (and not 'of man') refers to the idea, "May I make you come down in response to my call,[1]" that is implied. It is probable that the key to a good many other difficulties of interpretation is to be found in this way.

III. RELATIONS OF THE WORDS OF THE UPAMĀNA AMONG THEMSELVES

As the essential words of the *upamāna* are, in principle, construed with the common verb, we are here concerned only with the relations that are possible between one of these essential words and an accessory word, which latter may be either a genitive qualifying the former, or a word in other cases, for instance, the instrumental,[2] associated with it. Words of this category, it will be seen,[3] instead of being

[93] formed so as to depend more or less closely on the essential word, are often put in the same case as that word.

The majority of instances, and particularly, those that are the clearest, can be brought together under the following formula:

Two words of the *upamāna*, which are both capable of being chosen, almost indifferently, for employment, one in a given case to correspond with a word in the *upameya* (and thus to become

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[1] (= p 92 n. 1). Cf. I, 59, 4 which can also perhaps be explained in a similar manner. We must also mention particularly the verse III, 30, 7 of the Atharva-veda: देवा इवामृतं रक्षमाणाः सायम्प्रातः सौमनसो वो अस्तु । I believe that the comparison refers to *saumanasas* only, and that one should not understand *sta* as proposed by Weber (Indische Studien, XVII, p. 309). For the construction to be regular, there ought to be देवानां etc.

[2] (= p. 92 n. 2). The adjective employed as epithet does not occasion any particular observation.

[3] (= p. 92 n. 3). I have already treated of this subject once in the *Revue Critique* of 11th December 1875, p. 376.

the essential word), and the other in a different case (and thus to become the accessory word), are both put in the given case.[1] Sometimes, the number of words that are thus put parallelly in the same case, although their sense appears to denote different relations, is as much as three.

Among the formulae satisfying the above condition, may be cited in the first place, the combination of a word expressing the idea of ' troop ' with another word denoting

[**94**] the members that compose the troop. It is clear that the Maruts can be compared at will to " flocks of birds " or to " birds in flocks ".[2] The word for ' flocks ' and that for ' birds '

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[1] (p. 93 n. 1). This construction should not be confounded with apposition, properly so called, in which even the mind can conceive no relation of dependence between the words that are put in the same case. Apposition is frequent in the comparisons, and the two apposed words are, nearly always, almost synonyms, I, 66, 1; 70, 11; V, 79, 9; I, 62, 10 and 186, 7; IX, 68, 1 and X, 95, 6; I, 32, 2; AV. XII, 3, 37 (with respect to *vājin*, simple attribute of *aśva*, III, 29, 6; VI, 67, 4; VII, 7, 1; 41, 6; 70, 1; 104, 6; IX, 87, 1; X, 143, 2; A. V. III, 16, 6 or of *ātya* I, 130, 6; 135, 5; III, 38, 1; V, 30, 14; IX, 6, 5; 93, 1; 96, 15, and *sāpti*, attribute of the same words, III, 22, 1; VI, 59, 3; X 6, 2, see, beside the use of the two words as substantives, the verse IX, 96, 9 where they are apposed to each other in the same manner; see also my *Etudes surle lexigue du Rg-Veda*, under *atya*). Often they are exact synonyms and form a pure pleonasm, I, 59, 1; X, 95, 3; AV., I, 3, 8; V, 20, 10 and particularly II, 39, 5, अक्षी इव चक्षुषा यातमर्वाक् (the hypothesis of an adjective *cakṣus* is justified by none of the citations of Roth and Grassmann; all these can be explained by the mythical relation of the eye with the sun.)

We also find more than once two words in the same case, not however in apposition, but forming two different comparisons with only one particle of comparison, II, 34, 6; IV, 52, 2; IX, 41, 5; X, 49, 6; 178, 3; A. V. III, 11, 8 (compare with the verse VIII, 3, 16, three comparisons with only two particles of comparison, and contrast the instances where the particle of comparison is repeated twice with two words belonging to the same comparison, I, 61, 4; 85, 8; 116, 24; 124, 7; 183, 5; IV, 1, 19; VI, 16, 40; VII, 24, 5; 76, 3; 89, 2; X, 77, 4; 93, 12; A. V. XX, 127, 4, or even with a single word, IX, 64, 7).

For the rest, it is not improbable that these constructions may have contributed, through remote analogy or mere outward form, to the formation or the type that we are going to study.

[2] (= p. 94 n. 1). Cf. in respect to this last construction I, 163 10; III, 8, 9.

are put alike in the nominative[1] in the following example:

V, 59, 7. वयो॒ न ये श्रेणीः॑ पप्तुरोज॒सान्तान्दि॒वो बृ॒हतः॑ सानु॒नस्परि॑ ।

A similar construction is met with in the verse VIII, 85, 8, उ॒स्रा इ॑व रा॒शय॑: " like droves of red oxen ",[2] and probably also in the verse VIII, 46, 30, गावो॒ न यू॒थम् " like a herd of oxen " or " of cows ". It is not impossible[3] that the phrase यू॒थेव॑ पृ॒श्नयः॑ (always in the accusative), IV, 2, 18; V, 31, 1; VI, 19, 3 may have a similar origin.

The same hymn, V, 59, from which has been borrowed the indisputable example वयो॒ न श्रेणीः॑ furnishes, in verse 3, another example, no less indisputable, of a similar construction. The brilliant Maruts can be compared to the sun, or what comes to the same thing, to the eye of the sun (cf. verse 5 and *passim*); the word for ' sun ' and that for ' eye ' are parallelly put in the nominative: सूर्यो॒ न चक्षुः॑.[4] The " breath of the wind " is expressed in the same manner in the verse I, 34, 7. आ॒त्मेव॒ वातः॑.[5]

Hence there is no difficulty in understanding the

[**95**] comparison स्व॑र्ण ज्योतिः॑ applied to Agni in IV, 10,3 in the sense " like the light of the sun " or " of the sky." [6]

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1 (= p. 94 n. 2). According to Ludwig śreṇīḥ stands for śreṇyaiḥ (?).

2 (= p. 94 n. 3). Ludwig's translation " wie stralenhaufen " implies our construction; but it is not accompanied by any note to that effect. The hypothesis of an adjective *usrā* becomes thus unnecessary; in all the other passages with respect to which Roth and Grassmann have put forth this hypothesis, the word is applied to the gods by a metaphor which is quite commonplace in the hymns.

3 (= p. 94 n. 4). The room for doubt lies in the fact that *paśvaḥ* can be a genitive also.

4 (= p. 94 n. 5). Ludwig has translated rightly, like Grassmann, ' wie der sonne auge ' but without giving any explanations.

5 (= p. 94 n. 6). The expression is found, again, without comparison however, in the verse X, 92, 13; cf. also क्षामं बुभ्रम् IV, 19, 4.

6 (= p. 95 n. 1). Ludwig's translation, " liecht wie svar, ' only makes plain the strangeness of the construction without accounting for it.

In the verse VI, 34, 4, in which Indra, into whose stomach the Soma juice enters is compared to the sky in which Soma similarly takes his place united with the splendour of the moon, we can, in the light of the observations made above, take *arc* (*arceva māsā*) as an abstract noun, which is more in accord with the use of words formed from the root alone.

It also becomes thus easy to translate, in the verse IX, 54, 2 addressed to Soma, the formula अयं सूर्य इवोपदृक्. It can be interpreted at will as "he is like the aspect of the sun"[1] or as "he is like the sun in aspect." The two words are in the same case as in the preceding examples. This formula occurs again, with the complication of a common epithet construed with a word of the *upamāna* instead of that of the *upameya*,[2] in the following verse of a hymn addressed to Agni :

VIII, 91, 15. पदं देवस्य मीळ्हुषोऽनाधृष्टाभिरूतिभिः । भद्रा सूर्य इवोपदृक् ॥

Here the epithet *bhadrā.* construed with *upadṛk*, leaves no room for choice between two explanations: the formula stands for *sūryasya...upadṛk.*[3]

The current is to the rivers what effulgence is to the sun. It is not astonishing therefore to see the noun denoting 'river' or 'waters' and that denoting the 'current' put parallelly in the same case, in the nominative, in the comparison सिन्धुर्न क्षोदः that occurs four times[4] and is applied to Agni, I, 65, 6; 66, 10.

[**96**] to the Dawn, I, 92, 12, and to Brahmaṇaspati, II, 25, 3, or in the accusative in अपो न क्षोदः,[5] I, 180, 4. The Atharvaveda offers a similar construction :

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[1] (= p. 95 n. 2). Ludwig's translation, "er ist ein anblick wie die sonne," appears here too to be very forced. Regarding the 'almost' indifferent choice of the concrete or the abstract, see p. 85 above.

[2] (= p. 95 n. 3). See above, p. 82.

[3] (= p. 95 n. 4). Cf. the comparison सूरो न सन्दृक् likewise applied to Agni in I, 66, 1, in case *sūras* is there regarded as the genitive of *svar*. For, the very observations made by us above show that it is also possible that it can be the nominative of *sūra*.

[4] (= p. 95 n. 5). Ludwig himself translates the fourth of these passages (and seems to interpret the first also likewise, cf. the commentary on I, 180, 4) by making of *kṣodas* the equivalent of an instrumental, and putting forward at the same time the strange hypothesis of a stem in *r* of which *sīndhus* is the genitive. The construction which he adopts in respect of the other two passages too seems to be forced, and the analogy of the passages referred to above shows that it should be discarded.

[5] (= p. 96 n. 1). See the preceding footnote. The hypothesis of a genitive singular of *āp* becomes thus unnecessary. All the other examples cited

III, 29, 6. इरेव नोपदस्यति समुद्र इव पयो महत् ।[1]

In all these examples, one can at will take the first nominative or accusative as the equivalent of a genitive, or the second as the equivalent of an instrumental. The second interpretation alone seems to be appropriate in the following comparison of the Rgveda, which is applied to the two Aśvins, and in which the word for "river" is put in the dual.[2]

II, 39, 5. वातेवाजुर्या नद्येव रीतिः ।

We may cite also as belonging to the same category:

I, 143, 3. मात्वक्षसो अत्यक्तुर्न सिन्धवोग्ने रेजन्ते असंसन्तो अजराः ।

Whatever may be the exact meaning of the sentence,[3] I believe with Kaegi (*Siebenzig Lieder des Rgveda, p. 101*) that *sindhavaḥ* is the equivalent of a genitive depending on *aktuḥ* (cf. *aktr apām*, II, 30, 1), but not that it itself is a real genitive form standing for *sindhvaḥ*.[4] The two words that are alike because of the relation of dependence as regards the meaning, are put parallelly in the same case.

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by Grassmann in this connection are very doubtful; the instrumental अपा too would disappear from the verse VIII, 4, 3, if we make a very simple correction, and read अपाकृतं 'removed,' instead of अपा कृतं an expression which is totally strange from whatever point we look at it. On the whole, the existence of a singular form of *ap* appears to be very questionable.

[1] (= p. 96 n. 2). Weber (*Indische Studien*, XVII, p. 305) plainly takes *payas* in apposition to *samudras*; but it is, as can be seen, an apposition sui generis. For the rest, similar constructions, but without comparison, are met with in RV. VIII, 12, 3.

[2] (= p. 96 n. 3). Ludwig, after having first made an instrumental of *nadyā*, acknowledges in his commentary that it would be more natural to regard it as nominative dual (this is the interpretation of Grassmann also in his *Woerterbuch*). But he does not extricate himself from the difficulty created by the two nominatives. This difficulty seems to us to be now removed.

[3] (= p. 96 n. 4). See my *Etudes sur le lexique du Rg-Veda*, under the word *aktu*.

[4] (= p. 96 n. 5). I associate myself with Ludwig in his observation on this point.

After the current or other different attribute of the rivers, we come now to the course, the rush, of horses, in respect of which too we meet with a similar parallel construction

[**97**] of the concrete and the abstract. Soma speeds like Etas'a (the divine horse) in his impetuous rush:

IX, 16, 1. **सर्गो न तक्त्येतशः ।**

The abstract is, in addition, accompanied by an epithet in the same case in this other example:

IX, 87, 7. एष सुवानः परि सोमः पवित्रे **सर्गो न सृष्टो अदधावदर्वा ।**[1]

Or in this one that follows, which is a comparison of the rivers with mares; a verb of movement is understood, as on many other occasions, with *pra*, and the abstract has a second epithet qualifying it but separated through hyperbaton:[2]

VII, 87, 1. प्राणसि समुद्रियो नदीनाम् । **सर्गो न सृष्टो अर्वतीऋतायन् ॥**[3]

In the passages where the word for ' chariot ' or ' wheel ' is put in the same case as that for ' horses ' it is possible to regard it as a double comparison with a single *na*[4], although this juxtaposition gives rise, naturally, to a single idea only of dependence:

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[1] (= p. 97 n. 1), It would have seemed more natural to exclude *arvā* (as *etaśas* in the preceding example) from the comparison, had we not before us the example that follows, in which the same combination is met with for the third time. Cf. also below, IX, 22, 1 (p. 98). The position of the verb *adadhāvat* (like that of *takti*) presents no obstacle (see above p. 80).

[2] (= p. 97 n. 2). Cf. below, X, 61, 16, p. 98, note 3.

[3] (= p. 97 n. 3). It is possible to construe the word *ṛtāyan* with the subject of the last pāda also.

It is not improbable that a word denoting the ' sound ' of the horses or the chariots has a similar construction in the verses I, 104, 1; V, 10, 5; IX, 10, 1. The hypothesis of an adjective *svāna* would in this case become unnecessary.

[4] (= p. 97 n. 4). See above, p. 93, note 1.

I, 155, 6. चतुर्भिः साकं नवतिं च नामभिश्चक्रं न वृत्तं व्यतीँरवीविपत् ।[1]

I, 52, 1. अत्यं न वाजं हवनस्यदं रथमेन्द्रं ववृत्यामवसे सुवृक्तिभिः ।[2]

[98] VII, 34, 1. प्र शुक्रैतु देवी मनीषा अस्मत्सुतष्टो रथो न वाजी ।[3]

But the two concrete nouns are accompanied by an abstract noun, put in the same case as the concrete, in the following example which recalls to our mind a formula that has already been twice cited :

IX, 22, 1. एते सोमास आशवो रथा इव प्र वाजिनः । सर्गाः सृष्टा अहेषत ॥[4]

Here finally is an instance of three words being put parallelly in the same case, one of the words denoting the rim of the wheel, another the wheel itself, and the third the horses:

X, 61, 16. स कक्षीवन्तं रेजयत्सो अग्निं नेमिं न चक्रमर्वतो रघुद्रु ।

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1 (= p. 97 n. 5). *vyati*, according to its use in other passages, can denote only horses; the meaning ' spoke, ' which Ludwig assigns to it, seems inadmissible. On the other hand, is it right and natural to construe व्यतीन् ' horses ' with *navatim* (which, in my opinion, is used here substantively, the ninety each with four forms), and to admit, as does Grassmann, a comparison of horses with a wheel ? See in this connection however the examples below, p. 98.

2 (= p. 97 n. 6). वाजं is an accusative of goal and must not be mixed up with the other two accusatives.

3 (= p. 98 n. 1). I hardly believe in an adjective *vājīn* (see above p. 93, n. 1) and not at all in a *vājin*, attribute of chariots. The example of the verse IX, 22, 1 (see hereafter) is similar to the preceding one, and the third and last example cited by Grassmann, I, 129, 1 is not conclusive.

4 (= p. 98 n. 2). Ludwig admits here a double comparison with the chariots and horses. He had no reason to explain otherwise the verse VII, 34, 1 above.

One would have expected नेमिं न चक्रस्यार्वद्भिः " he has impelled to move Kakṣīvant and Agni, like the rim of the wheel by means of horses."[1]

The road travelled by the gods is that taken by their chariot and horses. It is none the less true however that the following comparisons, applied to Indra, in which the name of Vāyu is put in the same case as the word for 'horses' or 'chariot'[2], call forth the idea of Indra coming like Vāyu with his chariot or horses:

III, 49, 4. **रथो न वायुर्वसुभिर्नियुत्वान्** [3]

III, 35, 1=VII, 23, 4. **याहि वायुर्न नियुतो नो अच्छ**।[4]

[99] The rivers have, in the compositions of the Vedic poets, chariots and horses (the Indus, for example, X, 75, 3 and 9). Hence this passage where it is said that the Maruts have spotted horses, like the rivers in their chariots, or like the chariots of the rivers. The word for 'rivers' and that for 'chariots' are both in the nominative:

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[1] (= p. 98 n. 3). Ludwig's interpretation " as the wheel of the horse makes the rim to move," is not tempting.

The hyerbaton of *raghudru* is similar to that of *ṛtāyan*; see above, p. 97 (VII, 87, 1).

[2] (= p. 98 n. 4). We also find the name of the gods, or the pronoun used instead, put in the same case as the word for 'chariot' outside the comparison, VII, 48, 1.

[3] (= p. 98 n. 5). Ludwig makes of this pāda a parenthetical sentence in which *na* is used only to soften the expression. But this sentence would interrupt a whole series of adjectival phrases that are all applied to Indra. Moreover, it is usual to say of Indra that he yokes to his chariot the horses of the wind, not that he takes the wind for chariot.

[4] (= p. 98 n. 6). Ludwig wavers between assigning a causative meaning to *yāhi* and construing *niyutaḥ* with a participle (*vahan* or *yuñjan rathe*) understood.

I have formerly proposed the interpretation " come like Vāyu towards our horses, i. e., towards our prayers that serve gods as horses," and cited this formula as an example of the incoherence of Vedic figures. I prefer now to see in it a syntactic construction analogous to those that have preceded. In the verse VII, 90, 1, which could be cited in support of my former interpretation, the resolution of the Padapāṭha into **याहि अच्छ** (*yāhi* without accent) may be erroneous.

I, 186, 8. पृषदश्वासोवर्नयो न रथाः ।

Like the word for 'chariot' or for 'horses' in the preceding passages, that for 'weapon' is perhaps put in the same case as the name of the god in the following example :

VI, 18, 10. अग्निर्न शुष्कं वनमिन्द्र हेती रक्षो नि धक्ष्यशनिर्न भीमा ।

At least, the restitution, हेतिः of the Padapāṭha is in accord with the second comparison, अशनिर्न भीमा. In any case, I believe that there is such a parallel construction of the name of the god and the word denoting his weapons in the verse V, 86, 1 :

इन्द्राग्नी यमवथ उभा वाजेषु मर्त्यम् । दृळ्हा चित्स प्र भेदति द्युम्ना वाणीरिव त्रितः ॥

He whom Indra and Agni protect shatters the most solid enclosures and takes out the riches in them[1] "as Trita does with his chants" or "as the chants of Trita." Trita, in fact, is the god who takes as weapon against the demon 'a prayer with point of iron,' X, 99, 6.[2]

[100] Here are some more examples, isolated, but quite clear in themselves, of a concrete noun and an abstract noun being put in the same case and having the same grammatical construction, though, as regards the meaning, they have different relations with the rest of the sentence.

A friend and the advantage derived from him : X, 7, 5. द्युभिर्हितं मित्रमिव प्रयोगं प्रत्नमृत्विजमध्वरस्य जारम् । बाहुभ्यामग्नि-

[1] (= p. 99 n. 1). The root *bhid* seems here to govern two accusatives, as does frequently the root *dar* (for instance, in the verse IV, 16, 8; this thus disposes of one of the alleged examples of the genitive singular *apas*, see above, p. 96, n. 1) and the root *ruj* also (in the verse VI, 30, 5, to which too the above observation applies).

[2] (= p. 99 n. 2). Cf. *Religion Vedique*, II, 330. It seems to me unnecessary to argue about the meaning 'reed' given to the word वाणी by Roth and Grassmann. The translation of Ludwig is more acceptable. But the merit of ours lies in the fact that it falls into line with, on the one hand, a class of well-established mythical formulae, and, on the other, a class of syntactic formulae, which is equally well-established.

मायवो॑ जनन्त ॥ One would have expected *mitrasya prayogam*, or better, *mitram prayogena*[1] here.

The law and the application made of it: I, 153, 2. प्रस्तु॑तिर्वा॒ धाम॒ न प्रयु॑क्ति॒रया॑मि मित्रावरुणा सुवृ॑क्तिः[2] । It is also possible that *prayukti* has the meaning of 'horse' here, and that the hymn is represented as 'the horse of the law' (cf. the chariot, the reins, and the charioteer of the law).[3]

A son and the birth of this son. As pleasing to Agni is the hymn which worshippers address to him

III, 15, 2. जन्मे॑व॒ नित्यं॑ तनयं॑ जुषस्व॒ स्तोमं॑ मे अग्ने॒ तन्वा॑ सुजात ।[4]

A mountain and the benefits it confers (by means of its waters): I, 65, 5. गि॒रिर्न भु॒ज्म॒ क्षोदो॒ न शम्भु (Agni himself)[5].

The waters (deified) and their benevolence: IX, 88, 7. आपो॒ न म॒क्षू सु॒म॒तिर्भ॑वा नः (Soma).[6]

In all the instances given above, each one of the two parallel words can take on, more or less naturally,

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1 (= p. 100 n. 1). I am at one with Ludwig in rejecting the hypothesis, put forward by Roth and Grassmann, of a compound *prayo-gam* (with change in accent).

2 (= p. 100 n. 2). Ludwig, in his commentary, while giving a quite different meaning to the words, construes them likewise in a relation of dependence, without however giving any kind of explanation.

3 (= p. 100 n. 3). See Grassmann, *Woerterbuch zum Rgveda* s. v. *rta*

4 (= p. 100 n. 4). Ludwig's interpretation is not very satisfactory. No one has ever denoted by the word *janman* the family' that is, the ascendants, of a 'son'.

5 (= p. 100 n. 5). It matters little to us in this connection whether *bhujman* directly signifies 'enjoyment' or, as conjectured by Ludwig, the 'valley' in which the rivers run. What is essential is the close connection between the expression गिरिर्न भुज्म here and गिरिर्न भुज्मा in Vāl., 2, 2. *bhujma* is equivalent, as regards the meaning, to भुज्मन्.

6 (= p. 100 n. 6). Thus the hypothesis put forward in respect of this solitary instance, and accepted by Ludwig too, of an adjective सुमति becomes unnecessary.

[**101**] and on its own account, the case in which both words are put. It now remains to cite instances of constructions which are more unusual, and in which the parallelism of the two words can hardly be explained otherwise than by pure attraction.

According to a common-place comparison, the prayers addressed to the Maruts rush towards them, vying with one another in emulation, "like the waters of the mountains," [1] but not " like the mountains with their waters : " VI, 66, 11. दिवः शर्धाय शुचयो मनीषा गिरयो नार्प उग्रा अस्पृध्रन् ।

Agni can be compared to a cow, as to all that is good and useful in the world. But, in so far as he is ' bright ' and ' brilliant, ' it is not to the cow, but to its milk (or to the clarified butter made from this milk, IV, 1, 6) that he is compared. The word for ' cow ' is nevertheless put in the nominative, like the word for ' milk, ' in the following formula : I, 66, 2. पयो न धेनुः शुचिर् विभावा ।[2]

It is possible to multiply examples of this new type ; but the ground seems to be less solid here, and I think it better not to venture forth on it at present.

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[1] (= p. 101 n. 1). It seems to be impossible to extract any other meaning from this passage.

[2] (= p. 101 n. 2) The interpretation of Ludwig is too far-fetched; the meaning thrusts itself upon one.

HARIKAVI ALIAS BHĀNUBHAṬṬA A COURT-POET OF KING SAMBHĀJI AND HIS WORKS: (1) Śambhurājacarita composed in A. D. 1685; (2) Haihayendracarita and its commentary; (3) Subhāṣitahārāvali.

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

I

The only Ms. of *Śambhurāja-carita* by Harikavi recorded by Aufrecht[1] is "Report XIII" which is the same as No. 191 of 1875-76 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This Ms. is fragmentary and incomplete but is historically very important as it is a poem of a very high order dealing with the life of the Maratha King Sambhāji, the son of Shivāji, the founder of the Maratha Kingdom in the Deccan. This Ms. was acquired by Dr. Bühler in 1875[2] from Surat. Unlike *Rājārāma-carita*[3] of *Keśavapaṇḍita* which bristles with the names of historical personages and events, the *Śambhurāja-carita*, judging from the fragment before us, is unfortunately lacking in historical details to such an extent that even the identity of Śambhurāja, the hero of the poem has got to be proved. In fact my friend Mr. V. S. Bendre, who first studied this Ms. in 1931 and whose zest for historical knowledge about King Sambhāji has led him to the establishment of an institution called *Sambhāji Caritra Kāryālaya* with the sole purpose of gathering materials for a historical biography of King Sambhāji, was disappointed in a further study of this fragment and consequently the fragment remains unnoticed since its acquisition in 1875 by Dr. Bühler.

I shall now proceed to show that King Śambhurāja, the hero of the poem, is none other than the renowned Sambhāji, son and

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1 *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, 637, 756

2 *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Mss.* p. 13.

3 Keshavapaṇḍita's *Rājārāmacarita* or Journey to Jinji edited by V. S. Bendre, 1931 (B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, Granthamālā No. 36.)

successor of Shivāji the Great. This is clear from the following extracts culled at random from the fragment before us :—

Shivāji is referred to in the following extracts :—

olio 3 — " इहासीन्नासीरं रुचिरतनुभाजां त्रिभुवने ।
शिवाख्यो देशानामधिपतिरनेकाद्भुतगुणः ।
.....etc.— सर्ववनिताः ॥ २४ ॥

„ — " वदान्यो नेहान्यो जगति शिवभूपाद्विजयते " ॥ २५ ॥

The parentage of Sambhāji from Shivāji is clear from the following :—

folio 4 — " प्रदीपो दीपांगादिव गगनरत्नादिव महा-
महः पुंजः पद्मादिव परमसौरभ्यनिवहः ॥
सुधांशुक्षीराब्धेरिव हरितरुनंदनवना- ।
दिवायं संभूतः किल शिवनृपाच्छंभुनृपतिः " ॥ २९ ॥

„ — " गुणानामाधारस्त्रिभुवनभवानां शिवभवो ।
यदेकोयं शंभुर्विलसति महीपालतिलकः ।
.....चमत्कारचतुरैः ॥ ३५ ॥

folio 79 —"रणांगणविसर्पिणः शिवभवस्य भूपेशितुः etc. "

folio 80 —"शिवोद्भवनृपोद्वतौ "

We get a glimpse of Sambhāji's youthful person in the following verse :—

folio 44 —" अस्मिन्काले कमलनयनः कोटिकंदर्पकांतो ।
नानाकल्पद्युतिपृथुवपुर्मत्तमातंगगामी ॥
शंभुर्लीलासचिवसहितो मंदहासोल्लसद्भ्रूः ।
शृंगाराख्यो रस इव चरन्राजमार्गं विवेश ॥"

He is referred to as शंभु, शंभुनृपति and शंभुराज throughout the Ms.

The poem consisted of 12 sargas or cantos and it is really a great loss to literature that only about 2–3 cantos are available to us in the present fragment. Mr. Bendre has not been successful in his attempts to get a complete copy of the work. The fourth canto deals with the poetic description of Sambhāji's marriage in quite a classical style and is concluded with the following colophon :—

folio 53 — " इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपूरास्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयांके श्रीशंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये श्रीशंभुराजविवाह-वर्णनो नाम चतुर्थः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥ "

In the 4th canto Śambhurāja's bride is referred to as चंपा in the following verses :—

folio 49 — " चंपानाम्नीं रतिमिव जगन्मोहिनीं स्वां कुमारीं ।
तत्रानैषीदतिविलुलितः सूर्यजासेवकोपि ॥ ९८ ॥"

folio 49 — " चंपाशंपाद्युतिततितिरस्कारिणी प्रादुरासीत् ॥ ९९ ॥ "

„ — " चंपावत्याः सदनमखिलं शोचिषा शोभयन्त्याः "

The following verse mentions the bestowal of चंपा in marriage to शंभु by her father " तपनजादास " who is mentioned in verse 98 quoted above as " सूर्यजासेवक " :—

folio 53 — " पश्चात्तां समलंकृतां तपनजादासो ददौ शंभवे ।
भूपायाशु सदक्षिणं सुविधिना हर्षाश्रुमालाधरः ॥
तंत्रज्ञोथश्चतुष्कमनयत्तौ दंपतीसुंदरौ ।
लाजाहोमाविधिं विधातुसुदितौ ज्योत्स्नाशशांकाविव ॥ १३४ ॥"

„ — " सख्यं सप्तपदीनमाहुरपि ये etc. ॥ १३५ ॥ "

The nuptials were celebrated at a city called variously as ' मिहिरनगर ' or ' तपननगर ' or ' तपनपत्तन. ' सत्यादास was the अधिपति of this city and it was at his request that King शंभु proceeded to that city for his nuptials :—

folio 42 — " सत्यादासोप्यथ नृपतये भूरिदायापि दत्वा ।
तारं हारं वलययुगलं निःप्रवाणिद्वयं च ॥
आवासार्थं मिहिरनगराभ्यंतरे तं ययाचे ।
प्रौढप्रेमासकलपृतनासंवृतं सौधराजौ ॥ ३३ ॥"

'People of the town gathered to have a look at King शंभु :—

folio 42 — " जग्मुर्वासोरुचिरतनवः सर्वतः प्रेक्षणार्थं ।
लोकाः सर्वे नरपतिमणेः संघशः पण्यवीथ्यां ॥
संविभ्राणाश्चपलवपुषः पाणिभिर्बालकान्स्वान् ।
आधावंतस्त्वरितमभितश्वाससुत्फुल्लनेत्राः ॥ ३५ ॥

And ladies were not behind men in their curiosity to have a peep at the King. Their hurried movements are described in the patent classical style. The following verse will serve as an example :—

folio 44 — " भूपेक्षार्थं त्वरितगमनप्रोद्यता विद्युताभा- ।
ऽशक्ता गंतुं चपलचरणन्यासमौत्सुक्यनुन्ना ॥
काचित्स्थूलस्तनयुगभराक्रान्तिसंस्तब्धचारं ।
सारंगाक्षी पृथुलपृथुलं स्वं नितंबं निनिंद ॥ ५५ ॥ "

सत्यादास got down from his elephant and welcomed King शंभु :—

folio 45 — " इत्थं यातं मिहिरनगराभ्यंतरे शंभुराजं ।
सत्यादासः सबहुविनयं सादरं कुंजरेंद्रात् ॥
उत्तार्याथो विपुललालितप्रांगणे सौधराज्या ।
धृत्वा कांते करकिशलये प्राविशत्तान्निवेशं ॥ ६७ ॥ "

After the marriage King Śambhu starts on his return journey in a chariot accompanied by his bride चंपा :—

folio 78 — " उपेत्य शिबिरं निजं सुभटराजिविभ्राजितं ।
नृपेंद्रमुकुटः स्वकं श्वशुरवर्गमाज्ञाप्य च ॥
श्लथद्धृदयपंकजं प्रचलदश्रुनेत्रांबुजं ।
चचाल चललोचनां समुपवेश्य चंपां रथे ॥ २६ ॥ "

The Governor of तपनपत्तन accompanied the returning party for some distance but was asked by King Śambhu in touching words to return :—

folio 71 — " ततस्तपनपत्तनाधिपतिमागतं दूरतो ।
निवर्त्य मनुजेश्वरः सविनयं ससैन्यं बलात् ॥
रहस्यतितरां पिबन्वरतनोस्तनो रम्यतां ।
ततो बहुमुदान्वितो रमणमेतदूचे वचः ॥ ३० ॥ "

King Śambhu returned to his capital and passed a few days of happy married life but shortly afterwards got the news of an enemy attacking his capital and forces :—

folio 74 — " ततः किल स सुश्रुवान्स्वनगरीमतिव्याकुलाम- ।
रातिनिकरैः कृतामवसरं समासाद्य तं ॥
समेत्य सचिवैः समं तदनु मानसं भूपति- ।
र्दधार गुरुनोदितो निजवरूथिनीं सज्जने ॥ ५८ ॥ "

Personal prowess of King Śambhu in the battle is described :—

folio 79 — " मुहुर्मुहुरतिस्वनन्पृथुलमंडलेष्वासनो- ।
लयांबुद इवाद्भुतां बहलबाणवृष्टिं सृजन् ॥
करांकुरवरस्फुरत्कचकचंचलाप्रांचितः ।
समागमदथो नृपः प्रचलकंकणः कौंकणः ॥ "

And Goddess of Victory crowned him with success in the battle :—

folio 81 — " निर्गत्याहवसागराद्बहुसरद्रक्तौघकल्लोलिनो ।
बाणोद्भिन्नकरींद्रकुंभविगलन्मुक्तावलीं बिभ्रती ॥

वामं बाहुमियं विलोक्य नृपतेर्वीराश्रिया सेवितं ।
भेजे दक्षमसिप्रवेणिरुचिरा जात्रे जयश्रीरपि ॥ १२० ॥ "

The गुरु of King Śambhu blessed him on the successful termination of the battle :—

folio 81 — " आशीर्भिर्नंदयित्वा गुरुरपि स गुरुं क्ष्मापतीनां सकंपां ।
चंपां तस्मै भयाढ्यां सकलभयहरायार्पयित्वा सहर्षं ॥
निश्चिंतोभूच्चरासोल्लसिततनुलता सापि दोर्भ्यां गृहीत्वा ।
न्यस्ता तेन स्वयंनिबलजयकमला सेव्यमानेव रेजे ॥ १२२ ॥ "

This गुरु of Śambhurāja by name श्रीकृष्णपंडित was apparently an influential person as the following verses tell us :—

folio 82 — " श्रौतस्मार्त्तागमीयाखिलविमलमहाधर्मकर्मप्रकर्त्ता ।
नानाशास्त्रार्थवेत्ता विबुधजनमनः कामितार्थप्रदाता ॥
सर्वेषामिष्टकर्ता सकलखलजनस्वर्वगर्वप्रभेत्ता ।
श्रीकृष्णात्पंडितात्कस्त्रिभुवनविषये कोविदक्लेषहर्त्ता ॥१२४॥
साधूनामवधिर्विभावितविधिर्विद्यादयांभोनिधिः ।
सौभाग्यैकनिधिर्विदामात्रिसौजन्यवारांनिधिः ॥
दुर्नीतेः परिधिः खलायुपविधिः प्रज्ञाप्रभाशेवधि- ।
र्यस्यास्ते गुरुरेक एव सुनीधिः कृष्णो गुणौघांबुधिः ॥१२५॥"

The गुरु praises the achievements of the glittering *sword of* भवानी in the hands of King शंभु :—

folio 82 — " राजन्किं घोषयामस्तव विजयमहो ते वयं मंदवाचो ।
वीरश्रीशोभमानः करतलविलसच्चंद्रहासो भवान्यां ॥
चक्रे त्वत्प्रमत्ताद्विरदगलचलद्भूरिभांकारपूर्णां ।
सा वीराशंसिनीभूत्त्रिजगति विजया शंसिनी यच्चकास्ति ॥ १२६॥
शंभो त्वत्खड्गवल्ली लसति समुदिता कालकादंबिनीव ।
ध्वांतालीं सैन्यधूलीं बत जगति समातत्य झत्काग्वेद्युत् ॥
अस्त्रां सारैरपारैः प्रधनवसुमतीं प्लावयंती समंतात् ।
प्रौढक्षुण्णेभकुंभोद्गतमणिकरकान्प्रक्षिपंती नितांतं । १२७ ॥
सूते नानापदार्थांस्तव यदसिलता शंभुराजाद्भुतं तत् ।
तापार्कं कीर्तिचंद्रं विजयहुतभुजं तारकालीं गुणाढ्यीं ॥
झत्कारान्विद्युदोघानपि रिपुकमलां भारतीमस्मदीयां ।
नारीणां शात्रवीणां नयनयुगसरोबाष्पशैवालिनीश्च ॥ १२८ ॥

The numbering of folios breaks off at folio 82 and different numbering begins, the folios being numbered differently in black and red ink. Apparently a new chapter begins on folio $\frac{159\text{ (red ink)}}{1\text{ (black ink)}}$ with ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

Folio $\frac{160}{1}$ — King Śambhu and Campā, his queen, are shown as enjoying the pleasures of life The following verse shows them in a sporting mood :—

" कांतं चंपा त्वथ हिमचलद्वातसंजातकंपा ।
सभ्रीचीभिः सहहिमकृतुं संप्रवृत्तं समीक्ष्य ॥
सौख्यागारं श्रमभरसुखं लाघवार्थं स्वदेहे ।
लीलागेहे कुरुत ललितकंदुककीडितानि ॥ १५ ॥ "

The above chapter breaks off at folio $\frac{177}{18}$. Another chapter begins on folio $\frac{181}{1}$ with " श्रीगणेशाय नमः " The poet flatters his own style in the following verse :—

folio $\frac{197}{17}$ " स्फूर्जत्सूक्तविविक्तवाक्यरचना चातुर्यसारांतरा ।
शृंगाराख्यरसेशसर्मकलिताः नानागुणालंकृताः ।
सल्लालित्यमनोहरा हरिकवेर्वाचः प्रगल्भा इव ।
प्रोल्लासं रचयंतु यंतु विबुधा विंदत्यमंदं दिवि ॥ १५१ ॥ "

Then follows the colophon of the 10th canto which is called 'सूर्यास्तादिवर्णन' :—

folio $\frac{197}{17}$ — " साधुश्रेणिपदाब्जवंदनकरः संतोषपूर्णांतरः ।
श्रीनारायणसंभवो हरिकविर्नारायणोपासकः ।
चंपावल्यनवद्यपद्यरचनाचातुर्यविद्योतिते ।
तत्काव्ये खलु शंभुराजचरिते दिक्संख्यसर्गोभवत् ॥ १५३ ॥"

इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयांके शंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये सूर्यास्तादिवर्णनो नाम दशमः सर्गः ॥ समाप्तः ॥ श्री ॥

The next canto begins on folio $\frac{198}{18}$. It contains a description of King Śambhu enjoying a bath with his queen Campā in the bathing apartments. The bathing accessories in royal style are described in the following verses :—

folio $\frac{200}{3}$ "पात्रं नीलमरीचिमंडलगतं प्रौढेंद्ररत्नोद्भवं ।
सोरभ्याद्भुतसौमतैललालितं भृंगावलीगुंजितं ॥
कालिंदीह्रदमध्यसंस्थितमिव व्याकोशमिंदीवरं ।
सांद्रामोदमरंदवृंदसुभगं संभाति संभाव्यताम् ॥ १५ ॥"
तैलाधारविनीलनिर्गतमहः पुंजप्रसारांतरे ।
लोलंतः किल काकलीकलकलाः संभाति पुष्पंधयाः ।
कालिंदीपुलिनोदरप्रविलसज्जुंबालजाले मिथः ।
खेलंतो मलिनांगकाः कलरवासक्तास्तु बाला इव ॥ १६ ॥

This canto breaks off at folio $\frac{200}{3}$ and a fragment of another canto abruptly begins on folio $\frac{224}{11}$. It contains विष्णुस्तुति.

Shivāji was called 'गोब्राह्मणप्रतिपालक.' The following verse refers to 'गोद्विजचंद्रचूडगुरुषु भक्ति' as perhaps a family heritage :—

folio $\frac{232}{19}$ " आयुः श्रीर्विजयः सुखं च परमैश्वर्यं प्रतापोदयः ।
कीर्तिः कुंदनिभा मतिश्च विमला संपच्च सर्वोन्नता ।
कांतिः शारदचंद्रिकाचयसमा विद्या च वियोतिनी ।
भक्तिर्गोद्विजचंद्रचूडगुरुषु श्रीशंभुराजास्तु ते ॥ १५२ ॥"

Hari Kavi makes his own remarks about his poetry and gives us his genealogy and the date of composition of *Śambhurāja-Carita.*

Folio—$\frac{233}{20}$— कर्तुं कांतकवित्वकोटिरचनां यद्यस्ति वः कौतुकम्

तत्संतः पिबतामलानिमधुनासिक्तानि सूक्तानि नः ॥ १६१ ॥
मया मंदेनेह त्रिभुवनमनोहारिचरिताः ।
कृता वाचां गु(गुं)फां गुणविहितरूपां कृतधियः ॥
तदेतज्जानीध्वं यदयमुपजीव्यामरतरो- ।
र्गिरां गंधं प्राप्तः कविसुरभितां शंकरगुरोः ॥ १६२ ॥[1]
येनैकः कवितावतारसमये ग्रंथः समुल्लासितः ।
स्तस्या एव सुविश्रमे पुनरहो बंधः परो निर्मितः ।

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[1] The following verse in small hand-writing is given at the top of folio $\frac{233}{20}$ as an addition indicated by the mark ⅄ after the verse no. 162 :—

"श्रीमद्व्याकरणावगाहनपटुः काव्याधिपारंगमः ।
साहित्यामृतसिंधुरागमलसद्धर्मशास्त्रोद्भटः ॥
छंदोलंकृतिशास्त्रशालिधिषणो नानोपविद्यानिधिः ।
संल्लाक्षानुगतांतरो हरिकविर्नारायणिर्नंदति ॥ १६३ ॥"

तस्या लास्यविधौ कृतास्तु बहवस्ते ते प्रबंधोत्तमाः ।
सोयं कोपि हरिं कविः कविरविर्ज्योतिःकणो दीव्यति ॥१६३॥ [1]
श्रीनारायणनामसद्यतिवरप्रौढप्रसादोदया-।
यप्रापाखिलदुर्लभां निजकुले कारुण्यकल्लोलिनीं ॥
श्रीकांतस्य ययामलेह्यकुरुतां तास्मिन्विलासं निजं ।
वैरं रूढमहो विहाय सततं वाग्वादिनी संपदौ ॥ १६४ ॥
यश्च श्रीपतिमंत्रचिंतनसमुल्लासोल्लसत्सौभगं ।
सौंदर्यं परमापतत्त्रिभुवनप्रक्षोभणप्रोद्धुरं ॥
तं संपत्तिभरं स्फुरंतयमलं वाचां विलासं तथा ।
यैर्विभ्रांतिकरोभवत्त्रिजगतां कामाच्युत ब्रह्मणं ॥ १६५ ॥
सोयं भूरिगुणो निकाममहिमा सौजन्यवारां निधिः ।
श्रीचिंतामणिनामको द्विजपतिश्चातुर्यचिंतामणिः ।
सूरिं सूनुमसूत तं तनुधरं साक्षात्प्रसादोदयं ।
श्रीकांतीयमिव प्रकामविभवं श्रीरंगनाथाभिधं ॥ १६६ ॥
नानाशास्त्रविचारचारुधिषणो विश्वोपकारव्रतः ।
श्रीगोविंदपदारविंदसुरसा सक्तांतरेंदिंदिरः ॥
यः श्रीभागवतामृताब्धिविलसत्कल्लोलसैकैः सदा ।
संसाराभिधदावदग्धमखिलं लोकं समाजीवयत् ॥ १६७ ॥
तस्मादाविरभूत्त्रिलोकविदितो नारायणः किं स्वयं ।
श्रीनारायणनामको गुरुवरः श्री पद्मनाभानुजः ॥
यस्मिन्नासतते गुणाः स्थितिजुषः सर्वेनुकंपादयः ।
स्वीयं वैरमहो विहाय सततं सौजन्यलुब्धा इव ॥ १६८ ॥
पतंगतनुजालसन्मिहिरपत्तनाध्यासनः ।
समस्तगुणगुंफितो विबुधचक्रचूडामणिः ॥
रमेशपदपङ्कजप्रमदमानसेंदिंदिरः ।
परास्तकुहकांतरप्रगुणदाक्षिणात्यान्वयः ॥ १६९ ॥
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणजाखिलसुधर्मसंवर्द्धनः ।
समुद्रवसनोल्लसद्दिषदकीर्तिचंद्रोदयः ॥

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1 After verse no. 163 the following addition indicated by the mark ∧ is copied in the bottom margin of folio $\frac{233}{20}$:—

"वक्ता षड्दर्श(ना)नां भवति खलु नरः काश्चिदाहोस्विदन्यः ।
प्राज्ञः सर्वासु विद्यास्वपि भवति जनः सर्वलोकैकमान्यः ॥
दुःप्रापः कोप्यनल्पप्रखरतरमतिः सोत्रविद्यासुकास्व-
प्येकं पादं तदर्द्धं पदमपि विबुधानंदनं शुंफमेधः ॥ १६४ ॥"

विलोकनविदारितप्रचितलोकपापोदयः ।
सुधर्म इव मूर्तिमान्विजयते स नारायणः ॥ १७० ॥
सत्कीर्तिकल्पलतिका दलितांकुशासी- ।
द्विज्ञानकल्पतरुरप्यखिलो विशीर्णः ।
सौजन्यसिंधुरपि शुष्कसुधारसोर्मू- ।
न्नारायणेखिलगुरौ स्वतनुं प्रविष्टे ॥ १७१ ॥
तस्मात्साधुपदाब्जसेवनपरः सोयं हरिश्चाभव- ।
द्छ्रीनारायणपादपंकजसुधासेवाप्तवाग्वैभवः ॥
यः श्री शंभुमहीपतेरपि गुरोस्तस्यैव कृष्णाख्यया ।
विख्यातस्य निदेशतो वरमिदं काव्यं व्यधादद्भुतं ॥ १७२ ॥
शंभुः काव्यमिदं महत्कृतवतः स्वीयाज्ञया श्रीहरे- ।
श्चेतो(ऽ)भीष्टमलं ददौ तदखिलं येनायमानंदवान् ॥
(संपू ?)र्णं सकलं स्वकीयममलः पुत्रप्रपौत्रैः समं ।
यावज्जीवमहो स्वजीवनकृते नान्यं वदान्यं गतः ॥ १७३ ॥
विकाशं सूचीते विबुधरविभिः काव्यकमले ।
मदीयेस्मिन्स्फूर्जद्विविधगुणसौरभ्यजेवहे ॥
रसाली संपूर्णे कमलनिलया सातिशयया ।
सरासं संवासं रंचयतु जगन्मोहनकरी ॥ १७४ ॥
आचंद्रार्कं समुपचवरसलितां योतिसंदर्भसारां ।
नानालंकारपूर्णां निचितगुणगणां भूरिभावार्थगर्भां ॥
राजद्वैदग्ध्यमुग्धां मुररिपुगृहिणीमुद्वसंतीमिवांतः ।
कामासूयाविमुक्ता मम भणति महे साधवो भावयंतु ॥ १७५ ॥
दुःसंगोस्तु कदापिना त्रिभुवने कस्यापि सस्यान्वितां ।
भूमिः संततमस्तु वस्तुनि परे निष्ठां व्रजेयुर्जनाः ॥
नीचा नित्यमिह त्यजंतु सुहृदां वैरं न वैरंकुरै- ।
र्भाग्यानां क्षितिनायकः क्षितितले शंभुश्चिरं नंदतु ॥ १७६ ॥
श्रीचिंतामणिसूरिसूनुविबुधश्रीरंगलाथोद्भव- ।
श्रीनारायणसंभवो हरिकविर्यःश्रीशपादाश्रयः ॥
सर्गोभूदनवद्यपद्यरचनाचातुर्यविद्योतिते ।
तत्काव्ये खलु शंभुराजचरिते काव्यांतिमो द्वादशः ॥ १७७ ॥
पीयूशांशु १ समुद्र ४ सप्त ७ वसुधा १ विद्योतिते वैक्रमे ।
वर्षे मासि च पौषनाम्नि बहुले पक्षे द्वितीयादिने ॥
सद्वारे द्विजनायकस्य पितृभे चापूर्णयच्छ्रीहरिः ।
काव्यं शोभनशंभुराजचरितं नानागुणोज्जृंभितं ॥ १७८ ॥

इति सूर्यपूरस्थिते नारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयांके शंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये राजनीतितत्त्वोपदेशनिर्णयो नाम द्वादशः सर्गः संपूर्णः ॥ श्री ॥ संपूर्णं चैतत्काव्यं ॥ श्री ॥

The genealogy of Hari Kavi as disclosed in the above extract can be represented as under :—

(1) चिंतामणि (vide verses 166 and 177 above)

(2) रंगनाथ (Son of No. 1) vide verses 166 and 177)

(3) नारायण (Son of No. 2) vide verses 168 and 177) He is called the younger brother of पद्मनाभ in verses 168 (पद्मनाभानुजः)

(4) हरिकवि (Son of No. 3) see verses 177 and 170.

It appears that Hari Kavi's father Nārāyaṇa who was originally a Deccani Brahman (दाक्षिणात्यान्वयः– v. 169) had settled at Surat as he is called 'मिहिरपत्तनाध्यासन' (v. 169) i. e. resident of मिहिरपत्तन which is the same as सूर्यपुर or Surat mentioned in the colophons. It appears that Hari Kavi also was residing at Surat or सूर्यपुर and consequently the scene of King Śambhu's marriage with चंपा is laid in मिहिरनगर (folio 45) which appears to be identical with मिहिरपत्तन of which Hari Kavi's father नारायण was resident as stated in verse 169. How far this fact is true to history I am unable to say at present.

In verse 172 quoted above we are told that this poem was compoed by the order of (निदेशतः) of one कृष्ण known as the गुरु of King शंभु (= शंभु महीपतेः अपि कृष्णाख्यया विख्यातस्य गुरोः निदेशतः इदं काव्यं व्यधात् etc.). This कृष्ण गुरु appears to be identical with कृष्णपंडित described in two verses (on folio 82) which we have quoted above.

The date of composition recorded in verse 178 of the colophon is Vikrama Saṁvat 1741, in the month of *Pauṣa*, Bahula Pakṣa, 2nd tithi, which corresponds *to Monday, 12th January 1685.*[1] The last folio which records the above date of composition was found pasted to another stray folio with some written matter on both

[1] *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 172.

the sides. This stray folio records on one side the colophon of some work on *phala-jyotiṣa* or astrology containing *Saṁvat 1740* and *Śaka 1605* (= A. D. 1684). If this date is regarded as the date of copying of some work on astrology it may be possible to conclude that our Ms of *Śambhurāja-Carita* is a contemporary copy perpaps made in the very year of its composition viz. A. D. 1685, its last folio being pasted on another stray folio written one year earlier i.e. in 1684 as pointed out above. The other side of the stray folio contains some written matter concluded by 3 verses ascribed to Hari Kavi as under :—

Folio $\frac{2}{2}\frac{3}{2}\frac{5}{}$ — " स्फुरत्कीर्तिर्ज्ज्योत्स्नावलयविसरोल्लासितकरः ।
प्रतापाग्निज्वालाप्रसरभरसंतापितपरः ॥
समुद्रच्छत्पर्वामृतकरमुखोविश्वमहितो- ।
अजो यस्य भ्राता जयति महिनः शंकर इति ॥
ये जन्मावधिसंभृता च रभसं नानाभिलाषः परं ।
तानाप्तुं सुरसाम्रकोकिलकरस्त्वामाश्रितः सादरं ॥
आस्तां दूरत एव तत्परिचयः किंत्वस्य साधारणा- ।
त्वत्तो जीवतमप्यलभ्यमभवत्किंब्रूमहेतःपरम् ॥
—हरिकवेर्ममैतौ ॥

" सुमुखशिखरनामग्रामगानप्रणाम- ।
स्मरणविहितविघ्नध्वांतधाराविघातः ॥
तरुणतरणिकोटिज्योतिर्विद्योतितांगः ।
स भवतु भगवान्मे विघ्नहा वि(घ्ननाशः ?) ॥
—हरिकवेर्ममार्यं ॥

There is besides the stray folio described above another stray folio in the beginning of the Ms written on one side of the paper with borders ruled in double red lines and of a slightly smaller size than the Ms of Śambhurāja-Carita containing the following five verses :—

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
हिमगिरितनया सा पातु मां सारवृत्त- ।
प्रथितगुणविसर्गा यद्गुणाकृष्टचेताः ॥
त्रिभुवनगुरुरीशो यां वहन्नर्द्धदेहे- ।
गमदतिविकृतं हाप्यर्द्धनारीश्वरत्वं ॥ १ ॥

श्रीमान्गजेंद्रवदनः सदनं मतीनां ।
पायादपायभयतः स तु मां नितांतं ॥
भक्तानुरागमिव कुंभयुगे दधानः ।
सिंदूरपूरममितं बहिरुज्जिहान ॥ २ ॥[1]
फुल्लपत्रशतपत्रलोचना भक्तसक्तहृदया दयासरित् ।
शब्दसागरविचारचातुरी हेतुरीप्सितमिरा ददातु मे ॥ ३ ॥[2]
श्लाघंते महिमानमत्रकवयः के के न कुष्टांतरा- ।
श्चंचत्काव्यकराः परं तु गरिमा श्रीचक्रपाणेर्गुरुः ।
बिंबद्वेषिदले यदास्यकमले.....दंतातुले ।
वाग्देवी कमलेव विश्वहृदयप्रह्लादिनी खेलति ॥ ४ ॥
कांतेव मंजुलपदा कमनीयवर्णा ।
सश्लेषपूर्वकमपूर्वतरं वदंती ॥
न स्यात्कथं तु सरसां सकला सभावा ।
श्रीचक्रपाणिकवितामभिमता बुधानां ॥ ५ ॥
अथ बहुलगुणः सुमाननीयो ।
भुवनभुवा.....”

It is clear that the above extract contains the beginning of some poetical work of चक्रपाणि as the expression “चक्रपाणिकविता” in verse 5 above shows. I shall now prove that this चक्रपाणि is identical with the brother of Śri Hari Kavi, the author of Subhāṣitahārāvali.

Dr. Hara Datta Sharma in his article[3] on Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* remarks :—

“ Hari Kavi was the pupil of Nārāyaṇa, one of whose verses he quotes and refers to it as श्रीनारायणगुरुचरणानाम्. ” His youngest brother was called चक्रपाणिकवि and he is referred to by Hari Kavi as ‘ मत्कनिष्ठभ्राता ’ or अस्मदानुजचक्रपाणि कवि. ’ It seems that our poet had other brothers but we find no account of them. This चक्रपाणि differs from the चक्रपाणि mentioned in कवींद्रवचनसमुच्चय (p. 37) सदुक्तिकर्णामृत (p. 53) and पद्यावलि of रूपगोस्वामिन् (fol. 26[a], v. 258).

1 This verse is identical with verse No. 1 in Ms No. 829 of 1875-76.

2 This verse No. 3 appears as verse No. 4 in the Ms. (No. 829 of 1875-76) of हैहयेन्द्रकाव्यव्याख्या of Hari Kavi.

3 *Indian Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 478-485.

Dr. Sharma then quotes two verses introduced by Hari Kavi as composed by his brother चक्रपाणि. They are :—

(१) कृपापांगावस्य श्रयति रसनां शुभ्रवसना ।
.....भगवानेकरदनः
—मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातुः चक्रपाणिकवेः

(२) " श्लाघ्य (घ) न्ते महिमानमय कवयः स्वीयं न हृष्टान्तराः ।
के के काव्यकराः परन्तु गरिमा श्रीचक्रपाणेर्गुरुः (रोः ?)
बिंबद्वेषिदले यदास्यकमले क्षोदाभदन्तामले ।
वाग्देवी कमलेव विश्वहृदयप्रह्लादिनी खेलति ॥
—मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातुश्चक्रपाणिकवेः
(fol. 33, v. 124)

It will now be seen that verse No. 2 quoted above is exactly identical with v. 4 of the चक्रपाणिकविता stray folio viz. " श्लाघते..... खेलति. " This identity proves beyond doubt that Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* refers in his anthology to the verses of his brother culled from the " चक्रपाणिकविता " Ms, a stray folio of which has been preserved in the Ms. of शंभुराजचरित of Hari Kavi. This association of चक्रपाणि with the author of शंभुराजचरित raises the question about the identity of the two Hari Kavis viz. (1) हरिकवि, the author of सुभाषितहारावलि and (2) हरिकवि the author of शंभुराजचरित. I shall now prove that both these authors are identical. My grounds for establishing this identity are :—

(1) Dr. Sharma observes[1] about Hari Kavi the author of सुभाषितहारावलि :—

" The author Śrī Hari Kavi seems to have been a poet of high order. He boasts of himself in the following verse :—

येनैकः कवितावतारसमये ग्रंथः सदुल्लासितः ।
स्तस्या एव सुविश्रमे पुनरहो बंधः परो निर्मितः ॥
स्तस्या लास्यविधौ कृतास्तु बहवस्ते ते प्रबंधोत्तमाः
सोऽयं कोऽपि हरिः कविः कविरविर्ज्योतिःकणो दृश्यते ॥
(fol. 33[a] v. 123)

The above verse is identical with v. 163 on folio $\frac{233}{20}$ of the Ms of शंभुराजचरित incorporated in the long extract quoted above. Perhaps it may have been taken from the Śambhurāja-Carita by

1 IHQ. Vol. X, No. 3, p. 482.

the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali*. This identity of verses is sufficient to establish the identity of the two Hari Kavis.

(2) Mr. M. Krishnamacharya[1] in his book on Sanskrit Literature remarks about Hari Kavi the author of Subhāṣitahārāvali :—

"His native country however appears to be the Dekkan and he betrays a very close acquaintance with the literature of his country."

These remarks are to some extent borne out by the colophon of the Śambhurāja-Carita. We have stated above that Hari Kavi's father नारायण was the resident of मिहिरपत्तन or सूर्यपुर or Surat but he is said to be 'दाक्षिणात्यान्वय' (v. 169 of the colophon).

(3) Dr. Sharma states about the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali*:- "Among various other poets Hari Kavi mentions the names of the following with reverence as –

I	रामजित्पंडितानाम्	II	लक्ष्मीधरपादानाम्
III	माधवपुरीपादानाम्	IV	महीश्वरपुरीपादानाम्
V	मधुसूदनसरस्वतीनाम्	VI	अनंतदेवानाम्
VII	श्रीकृष्णपंडितानाम्	VIII	श्रीराघवचैतन्यानाम्
IX	श्रीबोपदेवपंडितानाम्	X	गोपीनाथपंडितानाम्
XI	सोमजिद्भट्टानाम्.		

It is possible to make a conjecture that these people were either Hari Kavi's contemporaries or preceded him shortly."

Dr. Sharma's conjecture that some of these people were Hari Kavi's contemporaries appears to be corroborated so far as कृष्णपंडित is concerned. We have seen above that the शंभुराजचरित mentions him as the गुरु of King Śambhu and describes him in two verses (124 and 125 on folio 82). Besides we are told that Hari Kavi composed the Śambhurājacarita at the bidding of this कृष्णपंडित (v. 172 on folio $\frac{233}{20}$).

(4) As regards the parentage of the author of the *Śambhurājacarita* and that of the *Subhāṣitahārāvali* I have to observe as follows :—

[1] *The Classical Period of Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1906, p. 126.

(i) The colophons of the different Sargas of the *Śambhurājacarita* uniformly call हरिकवि as 'नारायणसूरिसूनु' i. e. son of नारायणसूरि. Then again verse 177 of the extract from the colophon quoted above and verse 153 on folio $\frac{197}{7}$ use the adjective 'नारायणसंभव' with reference to Hari Kavi. He is also called 'नारायणिः' in verse 163 in the top margin of folio $\frac{233}{20}$. All these expressions prove that नारायण was the father of हरिकवि.

(ii) Dr. Sharma states that Hari Kavi, the author of सुभाषितहारावलि was the pupil of नारायण as he refers to him as 'नारायणगुरुचरणानाम्.' The statement of the colophons in the शंभुराजचरित makes it clear that नारायणसूरि was the father of हरिकवि. The title सूरि here is significant as नारायण was not only the father of हरिकवि but his गुरु as well, because in verse 168 he is mentioned as गुरुवर (नारायणनामको गुरुवरः) which corresponds to the title सूरि used in the colophons. It is, therefore, clear that one and the same person नारायण was both the गुरु and the father of Hari Kavi. In verse 153 (Folio $\frac{197}{17}$) Hari Kavi calls himself 'नारायणोपासक' in addition to his being 'नारायणसंभव.' Verse 164 (folio $\frac{233}{20}$) informs us that his family attained pre-eminence owing to the grace of an ascetic (यतिवर) of the name of नारायण.

The identity of the two Hari Kavis is in my opinion sufficiently established on the strength of the evidence recorded above. It is now easy to fix the date of *Subhāṣitahārāvali*. In this connection we quote Dr. Sharma's conclusion.[1]

"As Hari Kavi quotes the verses of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, he cannot be a contemporary of Akbar Therefore, he must have flourished in the *middle of the 17th century* A. D.".

This conclusion of Dr. Sharma is confirmed in general by our study of the *Śambhurājacarita* because it was composed in A.D. 1685 and because of our identification of the author of the *Subhāṣitahārāvali* and the *Śambhurājacarita* as stated above. As regards the chronological order of these two works we are unable to decide

[1] *IHQ*, Vol. X, p. 479.

because the verse common to both these works is not indicated by the name of its source. A glance at the varied and rich contents of the *Subhāṣitahārāvali* will show, however, that Hari Kavi was a voracious reader and perhaps this encyclopaedic anthology containing gems of Sanskrit poetry culled from innumerable sources beginning from poets and poetasters of hoary antiquity down to his contemporary Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita and even his younger brother Cakrapāṇi, served as a good discipline for a budding poet of Hari Kavi's classsical taste so as to enable him to write an independent *mahākāvya* in 12 cantos bubbling with the essence of Sanskrit classical poetry and devoted to the glorification of King Sambhāji, whose gay personality afforded him an excellent opportunity to make a colourful display of a princely career, which has been estimated by some modern historians as politically ineffete and unwise.

My brief analysis of the *Śambhurājacarita* based on the available fragment of this *mahākāvya* will, it is hoped, remove doubts, if any, of modern historians about the identity of the hero of this poem with King Sambhāji, the son of Shivāji. I shall, however, sum up the main facts revealed in my analysis which support my identification of Śambhurāja with King Sambhāji :—

(1) The date of composition of the poem viz. A. D. 1685 corresponds to Sambhāji's period of reign.

(2) The birth of शंभुनृपति from शिवनृप and the adjectives शिवभव, शिवोद्भव as applied to शंभुराज in many places as pointed out by me in the preamble of this paper clearly indicate the parentage of the Maratha King.

(3) The reference to the sword of the goddess भवानी in the hands of King Śambhu and its description in three verses as pointed out by me also confirm my identification.

(4) The mention of 'गोद्विज[1] .....भक्ति' with reference to Śambhurāja is also important. Shivāji was called 'गोब्राह्मणप्रतिपालक' and his son Sambhāji was expected to follow his father in keeping this motto before him as a state policy at a time when Hinduism was regarded to be in peril.

[1] Compare the following verse in the *Budhabhūṣaṇa* of King Śambhu (Govt. Ori. Series) B. O. R. Institute, 1926.

"अधीत्य वेदान्परिसंस्तीर्य चाग्नीनिष्ट्वा यज्ञैः पालयित्वा प्रजाश्च ।
गोब्राह्मणार्थे शस्त्रपूतान्तरात्मा हतः संग्रामे क्षत्रियः स्वर्गमेति ॥ ५५ ॥

(5) The poet Hari Kavi may have resided occasionally at Sambhāji's court, though he himself and his father may have been normally residents of सूर्यपुर or Surat. As the poem was composed at the bidding of Sambhāji's गुरु by name कृष्णपंडित such an inference is warranted. At any rate a greater contact of the courtly life of King Sambhāji may be presumed in view of the dominant note of gaiety prevailing in the portion of this mahākāvya analysed by me. The poet's family belonged originally to the Deccan as his father is called 'दाक्षिणात्यान्वय' and naturally he must have entertained a high regard for a King of the Deccan territories, though Surat was at this period of history in the hands of foreigners.

My friend Prof. H. D. Velankar has already published a "Sanskrit work called बुधभूषण (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Govt. Ori. Series. 1926) claiming for its author King Sambhu, popularly known as Sambhāji, son of Shivāji the Great" and has thus retrieved the lost name of King Sambhāji as "nothing but vicious deeds, at the most brave and daring, are usually connected with the name of Prince Sambhāji." About Sambh ājis literary taste Prof. Velankar remarks:— "– it is possible to conclude that not only had Sambhāji received education at the hands of learned Pandits but he had also taste for Sanskrit literature and was occasionally in the habit of writing poetry in Hindi under the influence of Kavi Kalaśa or the celebrated Kalusha, especially when passing his leisure hours in the company of beautiful women." In his Preface Prof. Velankar refers to Sambhāji's Hindi Poems, selections from which were shown to him by Mr. Purushottam Vishram Mavji, J. P. Then again verses[1] 16 and 15 in the preamble of Budhabhūṣaṇa clearly refer to Sambhāji's contact with learned men well versed in Poetry, Rhetoric, Purāṇas, Music and Archery.

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[1] These verses read as follows:—

"तस्यात्मजः शंभुरिति प्रसिद्धः समस्तसामंतशिरोवसन्तः (वसंतः)।
यः काव्यसाहित्यपुराणगीतकोदण्डविद्यार्णवपारगामी ॥ १५ ॥
विविच्य शास्त्राणि पुरातनानामादाय तेभ्यः खलु सोयमर्थम्।
करोति सद्ग्रन्थममुं नृपालः स शम्भुवर्मा बुधभूषणाख्यम् ॥ १६ ॥"

Hari Kavi a poet of no mean talents, must have been foremost among the learned men patronized by Sambhāji and in my opinion his present *mahākāvya* gives an added lustre to the cultural history of Sambhāji's reign.

About Kalusha, the enchanter, who exerted a wonderful influence upon Sambhāji Prof. Velankar remarks :—

"Among the quotations we find one from the pen of famous Kalusha. It is highly poetical and even though we unfortunately do not possess any literary remains of this great favourite of King Sambhāji, we have grounds to believe that he was a literary man. In the old chronicles he is described as Kavikalaśa or the poet Kalaśa." "We will not be, however, far from truth in assuming that to a considerable extent his literary gifts helped Kalusha to maintain his influence with the prince. It is quite possible that this Kavi Kalusha may have composed several poems, which were not preserved owing to the general disfavour in which he was held, but stray copies of which may yet have existed and might one day be discovered by us."

These remarks of Prof. Velankar tempt me to infer by way of pure hyhothesis that कृष्णपंडित who is described in two verses as the गुरु of King Śambhu in the *Śambhurājacarita* may be identical with Kavikalaśa, the Kanuja Brahman who is popularly believed to have been purposely sent by the Emperor from Delhi. Hari Kavi, as Dr. Sharma tells us, refers to some verses of this pandit and introduces them in his *Subhāṣitahārāvali* by the expression "श्रीकृष्णपंडितानाम्." Then again in the Śambhurājacarita Hari Kavi states that he wrote by order (निदेशतः) of one कृष्ण who was the गुरु of even King Śambhu (शंभुमहीपतेरपि गुरोः). All these references show the great influence कृष्णपंडित held over King Sambhāji and it is possible that he may have been identical with the great enchanter of Sambhāji, popularly known as Kavi Kalaśa. This identification is, however, suggested as a mere hypothesis as among other accomplishments of कृष्णपंडित given in the two verses on folio 82 quoted above we find that he is called "सकलखलजनाखर्वगर्वप्रभेत्ता" and "दुर्नीतेः परिधिः खलाद्युपविधिः प्रज्ञाप्रभाशेवधिः"—expressions which may hint at his cleverness in political chicanery, so characteristic of Kavi Kalaśa, the great enchanter of King Sambhāji.

Irrespective of our proposed identification of कृष्णपंडित with कवि कलश it would be useful to put on record verses quoted by Hari Kavi in his *Subhāṣitahārāvali* and ascribed to कृष्णपंडित for the reason that he is mentioned as the गुरु of King Śambhu in the *Śambhurājacarita*. If any poems of कविकलश are traced hereafter by historians the verses recorded below may prove useful in studying the question of our proposed identity of the two personalities. I, therefore, quote these verses from the fragment of the Ms of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* viz. No. 92 of A 1883–84 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona :—

folios 8-9 – " वृंदारण्यमहीषु वंशनिनदामंदामृतास्वादना- ।
निस्यंदानि दधुक्षयेव सुरभि वृंदानि संदानयन् ॥
मंदारद्रुमवीथिकासुविहरन् वंदारुवृंदारक- ।
द्वंद्वस्तुत्यभिनंदितोस्तु जगदानंदाय नंदात्मजः ॥ ५५ ॥

—कृष्णपंडितानाम् " •

folio 15 — " शैवालश्रेणिशोभां दधति हरजटावल्लभोहं यस्या- ।
स्त सा सोल्लासवल्गद्वरशफरतुलां यत्र धत्ते कलावान् ॥
उन्मीलद्भोगिभोगावलिसुभगसितांभोजसंभावितामा ।
गंगानंगारिसंगा मम महति विधौ मंगलान्यातनोतु ॥ "

—श्रीमत्कृष्णपंडितानाम्

folio 38 — " यद्वाणी वाणिनीनां मधुरमधुरसद्रोहिणीं रौहिणेयः ।
श्रुत्वा हालावहेलां रचयति सुचिरं संम्मदाकुंचिताक्षं ॥
किंचिद्राक्षासदृक्षाक्षररसनकरस्रस्तरुद्राक्षमालः ।
सोत्कंठं नीलकंठोप्यनुपठति शिरस्तांडवाडंबरेण ॥ १९६ ॥
मौलमंदारदामभ्रदलीपटलीकाकलीं श्रोणिबिंबै ।
चंचत्कांचीनिदानं चरणकमलयोर्मंजुमंजीरसिंजां ॥
उत्संगे कीरगीतं स्तनभुवि मसृणं कलुकी पंचमं वा ।
तत्काव्ये दत्तकर्णा शिवशिवमनुते भारतीभारमेव ॥ १९७ ॥
यः पीयूषमयूखधामनि सुधा सत्राछकछेपि यः ।
क्षुभ्यत्क्षीरसमुद्रसांद्रलहरी लावण्यपूरेपि यः ॥
यः कांताधरपल्लवे मधुरिमा नासौ समुद्गाहते ।
श्रीविद्वत्काविकृष्णपंडितवचो वोचिसमीचीनतां ॥ १९८ ॥

—श्रीकृष्णपंडितानामेते "

folio 39 — " रसालंकारसारापि वाणी व्याकरणोज्झिता ।
श्वित्रोपहतगात्रेव न रंजयति सज्जनान् ॥ २१६ ॥
—कृष्णपंडितानाम् "

We have seen above that in the old chronicles Sambhāji's adviser Kalusha is described as कविकलश. In the above verses of कृष्णपंडित he styles himself as **कवि कृष्णपंडित** apparently emphasizing his poetical talents and perhaps echoing the identity of his Sanskrit name कवि कृष्ण with the popular name कवि कलश.

II

Since the above paper was written I have analysed Mss of हैहयेंद्रकाव्य represented by the following entry in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* Part I, p. 768:—

" हैहयेन्द्रकाव्य and ṭīkā by Hari, Report CLXX-Comm. by शंभु ibid "

Mss represented by this entry of Aufrecht are available in the Govt. Mss Library. They are:—(1) No. 827 of 1875–76. (2) No. 828 of 1875-76 and (3) No. 829 of 1875–76. They were acquired from Surat by Dr. Bühler in 1875. Aufrecht's entry about the author of this Kāvya and commentary is misleading because we find that this Kāvya was written by Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* and the *Śambhurājacarita.*

Ms No. 828 of 1875-76—This is a fragment of हैहयेन्द्रकाव्यटीका of हरिकवि. Some of its folios are not numbered but it consists of 46 folios. It was copied in Samvat 1779 i. e. in AD. 1723 as the following colophon shows:—

"इति श्री सूर्यपूरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचितायां श्री हैहयेंद्रचरिताख्यमहाकाव्यव्याख्यायां शंभुविलासिकाख्यायामष्टमः सर्गः ॥ समाप्तः ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ संवत् १७७९ वर्षे फाल्गुन शुदि १ रवौ समाप्तिमगमत् "

The above colophon makes it clear that this commentary was written by हरिकवि. The poem commented on is a महाकाव्य called हैहयेन्द्रचरित and the name of this commentary is 'शंभुविलासिका'. We have no means of ascertaining the number of cantos of this महाकाव्य of हरिकवि but the above colophon of canto VIII proves that it must have been somewhat like the *Śambhurājacarita* in

its extent. The references to earlier works and authors found in this fragment are:—

(1) शारदातिलक fol, 1, 6;
(2) अभिधानरत्न fol, 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 27, 30, 32, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46,
(3) अमरः many times;
(4) श्रीमद्भागवत fol. 5, 17, 32, ;
(5) दशश्लोक्यामाश्वलायनेन fol. 6;
(6) विश्वः fol. 8, 39;
(7) सांख्यमत fol. 9;
(8) महीप fol. 9, 28, 29, 32, 36;
(9) भगवत्पादैः fol. 10;
(10) आचार्यैः fol. 10;
(11) नैय्यायिकमत fol. 10;
(12) कवचे fol. 19;
(13) हैमः fol. 20, 30, 36, 38, 44;
(14) छंदोभुजगमौलि fol. 23;
(15) भाष्य fol. 26;
(16) भाष्यमतं or भाष्यानुमतं fol. 26;
(17) पिंगलसूत्र fol. 26;
(18) शार्ङ्गधर्यां fol. 28;
(19) मत्कृतमेव fol. 29;
(20) पिंगलनाग fol. 29;
(21) पिंगलभाष्य fol. 31;
(22) रुग्विधान fol. 33;
(23) वाग्भटालंकारे fol. 33;
(24) कालिदास fol. 36;
(25) वृत्तरत्नाकर fol. 37,
(26) क्षीरस्वामी fol. 42;
(27) कामशास्त्र fol. 42;
(28) रतिरहस्य fol. 46;

Ms No. 829 of 1875-76—This fragment of शंभुविलासिका consists of about 76 folios of which folios 1 to 68 contain the commentary for canto I of हैहयेन्द्रचरित, while folios 69 to 76 contain a portion of the commentary for canto II (12 verses only). This Ms is very important for our present study as it furnishes more particulars about Hari Kavi. The first 10 verses refer to नारायण, the गुरु of Hari Kavi, and also refer to his patron शंभुपृथ्वीपति who is styled as शैव i.e. born of शिव or Shivāji (verses 7 and 8). We are also told explicitly that this commentary was composed by the order of Sambhāji and that the Kāvya was composed by Hari Kavi himself (verse 10).

This statement proves that Hari Kavi must have been a court-poet of King Sambhāji to receive direct orders of King Sambhāji unlike his composition of *Śambhurājacarita* which, as we have seen above, was composed at the bidding of कृष्णपंडित, the गुरु of Sambhāji. Perhaps this गुरु may have brought Hari Kavi into prominence and royal favour recognizing his poetic talents and learning, being himself कवि and पंडित (' कविकृष्णपंडित '). I shall now quote the introductory 12 verses of this Ms as no copies of this work are available so far :—

folio 1–2 — " श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥

श्रीमान्गजेंद्रवदनः सदनं मतीनां ।
पायादपायभयतः स तु मां नितांतं ॥
भक्तानुरागमिव कुंभयुगे दधानः ।
सिंदूरपूरमामितं वहिसज्जिहानं ॥ १ ॥
यो मां दधाति कमनीयतनुं रसालः ।
फुल्लावसंततिलकां लतिकामिवार्यं ॥
जीमूतराज इव विद्युतमुल्लसंती ।
श्रीमान्स पातु भगवानरविंदनाभः ॥ २ ॥
भजामि भुवनाधारं हराकारं परं महः ।
यस्येव चंद्रिका ज्योत्स्ना कृष्णा रामा विराजते ॥ ३ ॥
फुल्लपत्रशतपत्रलोचना भक्तसक्तहृदयादयासरित् ।
शब्दसागरविचारचातुरी हेतुरीप्सितमिरा ददातु मे ॥ ४ ॥
वैकुंठनाथपदपंकजलीनचित्र-
रोलंबमंबरगुणागमसिद्धबुद्धिं ॥
संदर्शनप्रदलिताखिलकल्मषौघ-।
नारायणं गुरुमनल्पगुणं नमामि ॥ ५ ॥
श्रीहर्षोद्गतभव्यकाव्यजलधिप्रोन्मंथने मंदर-।
प्रोद्दामाद्भुतशेषपेषलगिरा सारप्रसारप्रभुः ॥
धाराधारकवित्वकौशलसमुल्लासिप्रभावाद्भुता ।
शृंगारादिरसाकुला हरिकवेर्वाणी समुज्जृंभते ॥ ६ ॥
अस्ति स्वतिकरः समस्तजगतः क्ष्मापालमौलिस्फुरन् ।
माणिक्यावलिकांतिकांतचरणः श्रीशंभुपृथ्वीपतिः ।
यस्य त्रस्यदरातिपालनपरस्यापीय गौणाकरं ।
पीयूषं विबुधा विनिर्यदमृतं निंदंति सौधाकरं ॥ ७ ॥
किं वर्ण्यः किल शैवस्य महिमा जगतीपतेः ।
आकर्ण्य यद्वदान्यत्वमितरैस्तद्धितन्यते ॥ ८ ॥
कर्पूरपूरविशदस्वयशः सितसारसे ।
ब्रह्मांडमंडली येन भसली क्रियतेतरा ॥ ९ ॥
तस्याज्ञयैव विबुधान्प्रतिनैजभाव-।
प्रोद्बोधनाय हरिणा किल तन्यतेस्य ।
काव्यस्य तु स्वविहितस्य विकाशितायं ।
व्याख्या प्रभेव रविणा कमलाकरस्य ॥ १० ॥
संदेहसं तमससंहरणैकदक्षा ।
नानापदार्थनिश्चितार्थविबोधिकेक्षा ॥

ज्ञाताज्ञधूकबुधकोकसुशोकसौख्या ।
वियोतिनी जगति शंभुविलासिकाख्या ॥ ११ ॥
तस्माद्बुधाः सहृदयाः सदया भवंतः ।
पश्यंतु सादरमिमां कृतिरस्मदीयां ॥
दोषान्निरस्यतु गुणान्समुदस्य हृद्यां ।
कुर्वंतु चायमुदितो हि विदां स्वभावः ॥ १२ ॥

Verse *No. 1* in the above extract viz. "श्रीमान्गजेंद्रवदन···सज्जिहानं" is almost identical with verse *No. 2* in the चक्रपाणिकविता extract quoted by me above from a stray folio found in the Ms of शंभुराजचरित. So also verse *No. 4* viz. "फुल्लदत्रशतपत्रलोचना...ददातु मे" is almost identical with verse *No.* 3 of the चक्रपाणिकविता fragment. It is possible that the younger brother चक्रपाणि in his enthusiasm to outdo his elder brother may have incorporated these verses from the latter's works without acknowledgement though the elder brother Hari Kavi had better sense of literary veracity as he has introduced all verses of his younger brother चक्रपाणि with the expression "मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातुः चक्रपाणेः" in his *Subhāṣitahārāvali.*

As this fragment of शंभुविलासिका contains a portion of the commentary different from that found in Ms No 828 of 1875-76 it would be useful to record the references to earlier works and authors noticed by me in my cursory reading of the Ms. These references are :—

(1) रुद्रट fol. 3
(2) अमरः fol. 5, 6, 7, 10, etc.
(3) वाग्भट, वामन, दंड्यादि अलंकारिकाकारैः fol. 3
(4) वाग्भटे fol. 5, 6, 15, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 35, 38, 40, 41, 55, 57
(5) नव्यमते fol. 5,
(6) वृत्तरत्नाकरे fol. 5, 69,
(7) स्कांदे fol. 6,
(8) पद्मपुराण fol. 8,
(9) कवचोक्तेः fol. 8, 17,
(10) कालिदास fol. 8, 12,
(11) कल्पकवचपंजरादौ fol. 8,
(12) शारदातिलक fol. 10,
(13) वार्तिके fol. 10,
(14) अभिधानरत्ने fol. 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 23, 30, 32, 33, 39, 42, 43, 47, 61,
(15) सत्रशत्यां fol. 11,
(16) आचार्यैः fol. 11,
(17) कवेवरजगन्नाथात्पंडितरायापरनाम्नः कवेः fol. 72,
(18) क्ष्विः fol. 44, 73,
(19) अनर्घव्याख्याने क्षीरस्वामिना fol. 73,
(20) स्तवराजे fol. 20, 73,
(21) भाष्योक्तेः fol. 14,
(22) रेवाखंडे fol. 16,

23) व्यासतीर्थमाहात्म्ये fol. 10,
(24) वायुपुराणे fol. 18, 19, 20,
(25) श्रीमद्भागवते नवमस्कंधे fol. 20, 34,
(26) कामशास्त्रे fol. 28, 51, 53,
(27) हैमः fol. 19, 31, 50,
(28) वाल्मिकिकालिदासमुरारिमुख्याः कवींद्राः fol. 21,
(29) महीपः 23, 24, 66,
(30) कुवलयानंदे fol. 31,
(31) समुच्चयसार fol. 37,
(32) तदुक्तं अभिज्ञेन fol. 60,

The above list of references combined with the list of references in the other fragment of this commentary given previously shows us the range of Hari Kavi's studies and in my opinion justifies the self-conscious and somewhat boastful references to his capacities and attainments occasionally found in his works noticed above.

The hero of हैहयेन्द्रचरित is हैहयेन्द्र or कार्तवीर्य and his identity with King शंभु is too transparent for the poet to hide behind apparently godly environment in which he has been put by the poet. The heroine is none other than चंपा who appears also to be the heroine of शंभुराजचरित as we have seen above in our analysis of this महाकाव्य. On folio 14 of this Ms the poet apparently discloses the identity of शंभुराज with हैहयेन्द्र in the following explanation :—

" अथस्वसंभावनाकरमेतत्काव्यकरणहेतुभूतशंभुनामकराजविशेषं श्लाघंस्तन्नगरादिकं वर्णयति पुरामिति etc. "

The poet also refers to चंपा as the नायिका of the poem in the following remarks on folios 29–30 :—

" कुलशीलरूपादिगुणगणशालिचंपानामकनायिकां वर्णयन् "

He also refers to this चंपा as the beauty of the town of Surat in the following words on folio 50 :—

तथा श्रीमन्निहिरनगरस्य, शोभमानसूरपुरस्य, द्योतनकरां, प्रकाशनकरीं, शोभासमुत्पादिकामित्यर्थः । "

This heroine is shown to have attained a marriageable age on folio 31—' परमसुंदरवराभिलशिनी.....एषा चंपाख्या, षोडशवार्षिकी इति यावत् "

We have tried to prove from the statements of हरिकवि in the शंभुराजचरित that नारायण was both the गुरु and father of हरिकवि. This inference is clearly proved by the following statement of this poet in this commentary :—

Folio–68 " श्री नारायणेति । श्रीः सर्वविद्याज्ञानशोभासंपत्तया युक्तो नारायणः, तन्नामको गुरुः पिता च "

We have also seen that Hari Kavi's family came from the Deccan and that both the father and the son were residents of Surat. Here is Hari Kavi's own explanation about his Deccani descent :—

Folio 68— "दाक्षिणात्येषु महाराष्ट्राभिधदक्षिणदिग्भवब्राह्मणेषु. अन्वीयते युज्यते इति अन्वयो वंशो यस्यास्तौ "

The colophon of Canto I appears as under on folio 68 and it is very important as it discloses for the first time in our study the popular name of the poet which is भानुभट्ट :— "इति श्रीसूर्यपुरस्थित-श्रीमन्नारायणसूरिसूनुप्रसिद्धभानुभट्टापराभिधहरिकविविरचितायां स्वकृतहैहयेंद्र-चरिताख्ये काव्यव्याख्यायां श्रीशंभुविलासिकाख्यायां प्रथमः सर्गः समाप्तः" Perhaps this real name of the poet viz. भानुभट्ट may afford historians a better clue to trace the descendants in this family than the poetic name हरिकवि used throughout his works.

Throughout this paper we have identified सूर्यपूर with modern *Surat*. Our identification is supported by Hari Kavi himself for on folio 74 he explains :— "सूरस्य सूर्यस्येदं सौरं **सूरताख्य** प्रसिद्धाभिधमित्यर्थः "
and further he refers to the beauty of Surat in these words :—
" तापीपरिवारितसूरपूरशोभाया दुर्लभत्वात् इति भावः "
On folio 75 he explains the reference to mountain महेन्द्र in the text of his Kāvya :— "महेन्द्रः कौंकणदेशस्थः कुलपर्वतः"

Ms No. 827 of 1875–76— We now come to the fragment of the text of हैहयेन्द्रकाव्य, the commentary on which we have noticed above in our analysis of the two available fragments. This Ms consists of 39 folios, folios 1 to 20 comprising canto I and folios 20 to 40 comprising canto II. This poem appears to have been written in a sustained style in the classical fashion and in doing so the poet is apparently influenced by Jagannātha Panditarāya, quotations of whose verses have been given by our poet in the Subhāṣitahārāvali. Here is his appreciation of Panditarāya's poetic composition on folio 21 of the present Ms :—

कमलपटलस्फारत्स्फूर्जन्मनोहरसौरभो-।
न्मदमधुकरश्रेणीसिंजासमुद्गतमाधुरी।
न हि सुभगतां लोके विंदत्यनेकगुणाद्भुतां।
कविवरजगन्नाथोदंचद्वचो रचनाऽलेः॥"

The poet refers to नारायण गुरु in verse 8 of this Kāvya which begins on folio 2 with :—

"नमः श्रीमन्नारायणगुरुपदांभोजरजसे" and ends with..."प्रकाशंते कामं कविवरकृतानेकनुतयः"

On folio 4 the following verses 24 and 25 appear and I find they appear in the शंभुराजचरित with identical verse numbers. Theses verses are :—

"इहासीन्नासीरं रुचिरतनुभाजां त्रिभुवने।
शिवाख्यो देशानामधिपतिरनेकाद्भुतगुणः।
यमालोक्योत्फुल्लद्विपुलनयनोद्गीर्णनिमिषाः।
समुत्कीर्णाभित्ताविवसमभवत्सर्ववनिताः॥ २४॥
सुधासिंधुं प्राप्य श्रवणविवराघद्रुणमयी-।
मिमामस्मद्वक्त्रं किरति मरणीं वाक्यसरणीं।
सुधीरो गंभीरो विपुलधिषणोत्यंतरमणो।
वदान्यो नेहान्यो जगति शिवभूपाद्विजयते॥ २५॥

The following verse 29 is identical with verse 26 in the शंभुराजचरित referred to by us in the beginning of this paper :—

"प्रदीपो दीपांगादिव गगनरत्नादिव महा-।
महः पुंजपद्मादिव परमसौरभ्यनिवहः।
सुधांशुः क्षीराब्धेरिव हरितरुनंदनवना-।
दिवायं संभूतं किल शिवनृपाल्लंभुनृपतिः॥ २७॥

As in the case of the commentary on this Kāvya, Hari Kavi states that he got the order of the King Śambhu to compose the हैहयेन्द्रचरित :—

"अमुष्याज्ञां प्राप्य स्वकसकलपापप्रहतये।
तथा साफल्यार्थं ललितललितानां निजगिरां।
सहस्रारांशस्याप्यमरजयिलंकेशजयिनो।
वरं राज्ञां राज्ञश्चरितमहमीष्यत्परिमृणे॥ ३०॥

We get more description of the heroine चंपा in this Kāvya and her matchless beauty, news of which reached the King who began to pine for her hand :—

Folio 12—"कदाचित्तस्यासीच्छ्रवणतलपर्यंकनिलया।
कुलीनानालीकद्युतिहरमुखी कापि कमनी।
समाख्या चंपेति व्यगमदिह या शोभनतमां।
तमांस्युद्यत्कांत्या शमयति हि चांपेयसमया॥ ७२॥

विधाता चंपाख्यां त्रिभुवनपताकामिव हि यां ।
विधायासौ कुंपां कलयति परानंदजलधौ । "

folio 16 — " इतीमां निःसीमा प्रवरगुणगंभीरवसति ।
कुरंगाक्षी श्रीमन्मिहिरनगरोद्योतनकरी ।
प्रभाश्रेणीं मुक्तामिव खमणिना स्वीयनगरे ।
स राजा कस्माच्चित्समविहितचेताः समशृणोत् ॥ १०२ ॥"

folio 17 — " स भूपश्चंद्राभामिव मनसि चंपां परिदधन् ।
न लेभे शर्मापि etc. "

Persons interested in the King's welfare got busy and we find a Brahman approaching the King with a letter from Surat from चंपा's father :—

" तदा तत्रापश्यत्करनिहितपत्रं नवतरं ।
स तं विप्रं श्रीमन्मिहिरनगरादागतामिह ॥ "

Canto I ends on folios 20–21 as follows :

" श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरास्थितिर्हरिकविर्विद्याविनोदोज्ज्वल- ।
श्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुरवियःसद्दाक्षिण्यात्यान्वयः ।
आद्योगादनवद्यपद्यरचना चातु(र्यो)विद्योतिते ।
तत्काव्ये खलु हैहयेन्द्रचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोज्ज्वलः ॥ १३४ ॥

॥ श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरास्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुविरचिते विजयांके हैहयेन्द्र-चरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये हैहयेन्द्रगुणवर्णनो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥

The parentage of चंपा is given in the following verses on folio 22. श्रीकच्छ was a King of Surat. In his line was born तापीकांत the father of चंपा, the heroine of the poem. This तापीकांत or तापिकाकांत despatched a letter to हैहयेन्द्र offering the hand of चपा to him through a Brahman messenger who was his गुरु and inviting him to his capital with all his royal paraphernalia :—

" परामिह पुरं सौरं श्रीमल्लसति त्विषा ।
रुचिरतया तापीभंगावलीवलयाकृतं ॥
अमरनगरीशोभामंगीकरोति यदुद्भवां ।
जगितिजगतीं यांती गंगां निवेश्य निजांगणे ॥ ८ ॥
अवसदमलः श्रीकच्छाख्यो नृपोऽविहावै ।
स्वजनिजगतीं तापीसेवापरायमानसः ।
सुरभिरभितस्तापीकांताख्ययाभवदुद्भटः ।
सुभटनिकरा सेव्यस्तस्यां महोन्नतया तया ॥ ९ ॥

नरपरिवृढः पूर्वं योभून्महेन्द्रकुलाचल- ।
स्थितिरतिमहाज्ञानारत्नाकरप्रभुरद्भुतः ॥
अगणितगुणोदारः सारोन्नतो वरविक्रमः ।
स्वविभवलवक्रीडाकीताखिलाधिपशेवधिः ॥ १० ॥
किल तनुभवा तस्यादित्योद्भवानुतिसंभवा ।
चपलनयना चंपाख्येयं सखी मम वर्तते ।
त्रिभुवनकृता यां निर्माय स्वनिर्मि(त)शोभिनीं ।
कनककमनीं स्वं चातुर्यं परं प्रकटीकृतं ॥ ११ ॥

folio 38 — " श्रीमदज्ञाभिधगुरुवरेष्वेव विज्ञप्तियुक्तः ।
नानासूक्तोंचतिनतियुतस्तापिकाकांतलेखः ।

folio 39 — " एतच्चेयं चपलनयना चंपकश्रेणिरम्या ।
चंपेत्याख्या मम हि दुहिता राजराजाय दत्ता ॥
तन्मे यूयं विषदाधिषणाधारिणो विज्ञवर्या ।
मान्या लोकैर्विपुलकरुणासिंधवोंगीकुरुध्वं ॥ ११८ ॥"

— " आगंतव्यं विबुधमणिभिः तं गृहीत्वा सुसैन्यं "

— " पत्रीमेवं विबुधमुकुटः संप्रकाश्यादिदेश "

The fragment ends as under :—

" श्रीनारायणसूरितो हरिकविं देव्यन्नपूर्णा स्वयं ।
यं चासूत सुधासमानवचनं सत्यादपद्याश्रयं ॥
पूर्णोभूदनवद्यपद्यरचना चातुर्यविद्योतिते ।
तत्काव्ये खलु हैहयेन्द्रचरिते सर्गो द्वितीयाभिधः ॥ "

श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयांके श्रीहैहयेंद्रचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये— "

In the last verse of canto II quoted above we find for the first time the name of the mother of Hari Kavi mentioned, which is अन्नपूर्णा because the verse states " *Annapūrṇā gave birth to Hari Kavi from Nārāyaṇasūri.* "

In the above analysis of all the available fragmentary Mss of Hari Kavi's works we have tried to lay bare some historical information but have not attempted to identify or verify the same from other historical sources. Such an attempt must be made independently by scholars interested in the history of the period to which King Sambhāji belongs. We have attempted in the present study to give a rough sketch of Hari Kavi and his works written under the patronage of King Sambhāji.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF IMPORTANT HISTORICAL NAMES
Mentioned by Hari Kavi

अन्नपूर्णा--mother of Hari Kavi

कृष्णपंडित or कृष्ण or कविकृष्ण-पंडित } the *guru* of King Sambhāji probably indentical with Kavi Kalaśa.

चंपा or चंपावती--the heroine of शंभुराजचरित and हैहयेन्द्रचरित and the beauty of the town of Surat.

चक्रपाणि--younger brother of Hari Kavi.

चिंतामणि--Great Grand-father of Hari Kavi.

तापी--river at Surat.

तापीकांत--father of चंपा the heroine of शंभुराजचरित and हैहयेन्द्रचरित.

दत्त--Brahman messenger sent by तापीकांत with a letter proposing the marriage of his daughter चंपा with King Sambhāji.

नारायण or नारायणसूरि--The *guru* and father of Hari Kavi.

जगन्नाथ (पंडितराय)--appreciated and quoted by Hari Kavi.

पद्मनाभ--Uncle of Hari Kavi and elder brother of Hari Kavi's father नारायण.

भानुभट्ट--popular name of Hari Kavi.

महाराष्ट्र--mentioned by Hari Kavi as the province to which his family belonged.

मिहिरनगर or मिहिरपत्तन or तपननगर or तपनपत्तन--Same as सूर्यपूर or Surat.

रंगनाथ--Grand-father of Hari Kavi.

शंभु, शंभुराज, शंभुनृपति--identical with the Maratha King Sambhāji, son of Shivāji the Great.

शंभुराजचरित--composed in A. D. 1685 by Hari Kavi by the order of कृष्णपंडित the *guru* of King Sambhāji (शंभुराज).

शिवभूप or शिव--father of शंभुराज or Sambhāji, identical with Shivāji the Great.

श्रीकच्छ--ancestor of तापीकांत of Surat, father of चंपा.

सत्यादास--the Governor of Surat (called तपनपत्तनाधिपति in the शंभुराजचरित).

सुभाषितहारावलि--an encyclopaedic anthology compiled by Hari Kavi.

सूर्यजासेवक or तपनजादास--father of चंपा in शंभुराजचरित, perhaps identical with तापीकांत.

सूर्यपूर or सूरपूर or सूरत--identical with modern Surat, town of Hari Kavi's residence.

हरिकवि (alias भानुभट्ट)--author of शंभुराजचरित, हैहयेन्द्रचरित and commentary, and सुभाषितहारावलि.

हैहयेन्द्रचरित--a mahākāvya composed by Hari Kavi by order of King Sambhāji.

हैहयेन्द्रचरितटीका--called शंभुविलासिका composed by Hari Kavi by order of King Sambhāji.

THE JAINA COMMENTARIES

BY

PROF. H. R KAPADIA, M. A.

It seems that the need for explanation must have been felt from the time human beings began to communicate their thoughts to one another, and in this way exegetical literature of all people must have come into existence, that of the Indians, being no exception to this rule. In this article, I shall, however, confine myself to the commentaries[1] written by the *Jainas*, especially the *Śvetāmbaras*, on texts sacred and secular as well.

In every epoch at least one prophet appears to have flourished in India and his sermon, to have served as a basis for explanation and elucidation to his followers. To take a special case, according to the *Jaina* tradition, in each of the two cycles[2] of *Kālacakra*, 24 *Tirthaṁkaras* flourish in this *Bharatakṣetra* (India), and each of them delivers a sermon[3] after attaining omniscience. *Gaṇadharas*, his apostles of outstanding merits embody this sermon in *sūtras*, on their receiving permission to that effect from their *guru* after he has enunciated *tivaī* (Skr. *tripadī*)[4], the corner-stone of the edifice of Jainism. These *sūtras*[5] which are so to say a commentary on this *tivaī* are short and sweet yet deep in meaning, and hence require to be explained.

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1 This word is to be taken in the ordinary sense now current, and hence it should not be construed to have any one of the following meanings :—

(i) Notes and abstracts of speeches for the assistance of orators.

(ii) Family-memorials, diaries of events-the day-book.

(iii) Memoirs of events or transactions such as the commentaries of Cæsar and Cicero.

2 These are known as *avasarpiṇī* and *utsarpiṇī*, out of which the former known as Huṇḍā is in operation here at present.

3 Sermons of different *Tīrthaṁkaras* are the same in essence. They differ only in form-the dress of speech in which they are garbed.

4 This is embodied in the following line :—

"उपज्जेइ वा, विगमेइ वा, धुवेइ वा" .

It means that every substance originates, perishes and is permanent.

5 They are grouped under 12 heads, each known as an *Aṅga*, the collective name for all of them being *Duvālasaṅga* (Skr. *Dvādaśāṅgī*).

About 2500 years ago, each of the 11 *Gaṇadharas* of *Śramaṇa Bhagavan* Mahāvīra composed a *Dvādaśāṅgī*. But it so happened that the *Dvādaśāṅgīs* of the eighth and the ninth *Gaṇadharas* tallied both in meaning and style as well, and that the same happened to be the case with the *dvādaśāṅgīs* composed by the last two *Gaṇadharas*. Consequently, each of the first seven *Gaṇadharas* conducted a separate school for the convenience of his pupils, whereas the 8th and 9th conducted only one school, the 10th and 11th, too, adopting the same procedure. Thus, in all 9 schools (*Gaṇas)* were formed, and for each of the last two there were two *Gaṇadharas* as teachers, since their *Dvādaśāṅgīs* were practically identical.

It is a rule that on a *Gaṇadhara* attaining omniscience, he ceases to teach his pupils,[1] who, thereupon join the school of that *Gaṇadhara* who is to be the last in the lot to attain omniscience and salvation as well. On this basis 9 schools were, in due course of time, reduced to one solely in charge of Sudharmasvāmin, the fifth *Gaṇadhara*.

The record of the teaching work embodying explanations to the 8 *Dvādaśāṅgīs* is not preserved ; consequently the teachings of Sudharmasvāmin can at best be looked upon as the earliest source of the existing *Jaina Āgamas*. These teachings, too, do not seem to have been remembered word for word, though faithfully transmitted orally from one generation to another, as could be seen from the close examination of the form in which we find at present the *Jaina* canon. Nevertheless, the essence seems to be present there.

The very first type of the *Jaina* explanatory works on the *Āgamas* that form a part of our legacy is known as *Nijjutti*[2] (Skr. *Niryukti*) and its authorship is attributed to Bhadrabāhusvāmin, caṛamasayalasuyanāṇi[3] (the last śruta-kevalin), who attained salvation in *Vīra* Saṁvat 170.[4] It may be added that we

[1] This rule applies to other *Jaina* saints also, when they become all-knowing.

[2] This is how the author himself names it.

[3] See the following verse of Dasāsuyakkhandhanijjutti.

" वंदामि भद्दबाहुं पाईणं चरमसयलसुयनाणिं ।
सुत्तस्स कारगमिसिं दसासु कप्पे य ववहारे ॥ १ ॥"

[4] See Pariśiṣṭaparvan (IX, 112) of Kalikālasarvajña Hemacandra Sūri.

cannot definitely say at present whether he had written a *Niryukti* for each of the *Aṅgas* or not. The *Jaina* tradition based upon two verses[1] occurring in *Nijjutti* of Āvassaya unanimously identifies him as the author of *Niryuktis*[2] on the following ten works :—

(1) Āvassayasutta[3], (2) Dasaveyāliya[4], (3) Uttarajjhayaṇa, (4) Āyāraṅga, (5) Sūyagaḍaṅga, (6) Dasāsuyakkhandha, (7) Kappasutta, (8) Vavahāra, (9) Sūriyapaṇṇatti and (10) Isibhāsiya.

Out of these, the *Niryuktis* on the 9th and the 10th works seem to be now lost for ever. Those for the remaining works except the 6th are most probably published.

It may be added that as mentioned in Mahānisīhasutta there

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[1] They are as under:—

"आवस्सयस्स दसकालियस्स तह उत्तरज्झमायारे।
सूयगडे निज्जुत्तिं वोच्छामि तहा दसाणं च ॥ ८२ ॥
कप्पस्स य निज्जुतिं ववहारस्सेव परमनिउणस्स।
सूरियपण्णत्तीए वोच्छं इसिभासियाणं च ॥ ८३ ॥"

[2] In the opinion of Dr. Winternitz, "they are probably memorial verses which served as an aid to the memory of the teachers in their oral interpretations of the sacred texts". See "A History of Indian Literature" (Vol. II, p. 483), Calcutta University, 1933.

[3] The *Nijjutti* on this work should not be confounded with Āvāsayaṇijjutti, the seventh section of Mūlāyāra (Skr. Mūlācāra) of Vaṭṭakerasvāmin, a *Digambara* scholar. For, it is not a commentary on Āvassayasutta of the *Śvetāmbara* School or any other work, though it is true that this Āvāsayaṇijjutti resembles the *nijjutti* of Āvassaya in several respects. For instance, both are divided into six parts corresponding to (i) Sāmāiya, (ii) Cauvisatthaya, (iii) Vandaṇaya, (iv) Paḍikkamaṇa, (v) Paccakkhāṇa and (vi) Kāusagga, the six well-known divisions of Āvassaya. Furthermore, they deal with the same subject, and that, too, in verses in *gāthās* (Āryā metre) in Prākrit.

The two words *āvāsaya* and *nijjutti* occurring in this *Digambara* work are explained in 515th verse of Mūlācāra as under :—

"ण वसो अवसो अवसस्स कम्ममावासयं ति बोधव्वा।
जुत्ति त्ति उवाय त्ति य णिरवयवा होदि णिज्जुत्ती ॥ ५१५ ॥"

Thus *Nijjutti* means "means in toto".

[4] There is an article in German regarding this work and its *Niryukti*. See Z. D. M. G. Vol. XLVI (pp. 581–663).

While correcting the proof-sheets of this article, I have incidentally come to know from Mr. A. M. Ghatge, M. A., that he has contributed to "the Indian Historical Quarterly," an article entitled 'The Daśavaikālika Niryukti,' wherein he has dealt with several aspects of *Niryukti*.

was *Nijjutti* for Pañcamangalasuyakkhandha.[1] So this leads us to infer that there existed a *Nijjutti* for more works than the ten noted above.

Before we proceed further it may not be amiss to mention that Ohanijjutti[2] and Piṇḍanijjutti, the two works of Bhadrabāhusvāmin are not commentaries as the names are likely to suggest, but are original works—they are texts. The same is the case with Saṁsattanijjutti and Ārāhaṇānijjutti.[3]

The word *Nijjutti* (*Niryukti*) is explained in several places. Some of them are as under :—

(1) *Nijjutti* of Āvassaya. Its author Bhadrabāhusvāmin observes :—

"निज्जुत्ता ते अत्था, जं बद्धा तेण होइ निज्जुत्ती ।
तहवि य इच्छावेई, विभासिउं सुत्तपरिवाडी ॥ ८६ ॥"

(2) Visesāvassyabhāsa (Mahābhāṣya). Herein its author Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa alias Bhāṣyakāra (c. *Vira* Saṁvat 1115 i. e. *Vikrama* Saṁvat 645) has over and above incorporating the verse[4] noted above, has made some further remarks as under :—

जं निच्छयाऽऽइजुत्ता, सुत्ते अत्था इमीऍ वक्खाया ।
तेणेयं निज्जुत्ती, णिज्जुत्तत्थाभिहाणाओ ॥ १.८६ ॥"[5]

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1 The actual passage is as below:—

"एवं तु जं पंचमंगलसुयक्खंधस्स वक्खाणं तं महया पबंधेणं अणंतगमपज्जवेहिं सुत्तस्स य पिहब्भूयाहि **निज्जुत्ती-भास-चुण्णी**हिं जहेव अणंतनाणदंसणधरेहिं तित्थयरेहिं वक्खाणियं तहेव समासओ वक्खाणिज्जंतं आसि । अहन्नया कालपरिहाणिदोसेणं ताओ **निज्जुत्ती-भास-चुन्नीओ** वुच्छिन्नाओ ।"

For details see my "Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts deposited at Bhandarkar Oriental Reserach Institute" (Vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 32). This will be hereafter referred to as "Descriptive Catalogue of Jaina Mss." (D. C. J. M.)

2 *Bhāsa* and *Cuṇṇi* are mentioned for this work in Jaina Granthāvalī (p. 40).

3 While mentioning the works which can be studied at the time of *asvādhyāya*, this is referred to as a treatise in Mūlācāra (ch. V; v. 279), the actual verse being as under :—

"**आराहणणिज्जुत्ती** मरणविभत्ती य संगहत्थुदिओ ।
पच्चक्खाणावसाययधम्मकहाओ य एरिसओ ॥ २७९ ॥"

4 This is numbered as 1085.

5 For additional information see Maladhārin Hemacandra Sūri's commentary (p. 499) to this work.

(3) Haribhadra[1] Sūri's commentary (p. 2[b]) to Dasaveyāliyasutta and its *Niryukti*. There it is said :—
"निर्युक्तानामेव सूत्रेऽर्थानां युक्ति :– परिपाट्या योजनम्, निर्युक्तियुक्तिरिति वाच्ये युक्तशब्दलोपान्निर्युक्तिः ।"

(4) Śīlāṅka Sūri's commentary[2] (p. 4[a]) to Āyāraṅgasutta (I. 1. 1). Therein the commentator remarks :—
"निश्चयेनार्थप्रतिपादिका युक्तिर्निर्युक्तिः ।"

(5) Mūlācāra.[3]

These definitions, no doubt, explain to some extent the meaning of *Nijjutti*; but, in order that its nature may be completely realized, it is necessary to tap another source wherein there is a specific mention of at least its constituents. Up till now, I have not come across such a source. So, I shall here only quote from Nijjutti-Dasaveyāliya, of the following verses which throw some light in this direction:—

"निक्खेवु एगट्ठ निरुत्त[4] विहि पवत्ती य केन वा कस्स ।
तद्दारा भेय लक्खण तयरिहा परिस्सा य सुत्तत्थो ॥ ५ ॥"
"भिक्खुस्स य निक्खेवो १ निरुत्त २ एगट्ठियाणि ३ लिंगाणि ४ ।
अणुट्ठिओ नं भिक्खु त्ति अववाया पंच ५ दारेहिं ॥ ३९९ ॥"

All the *Nijjuttis* which are attributed to Bhadrabāhusvāmin are concise and written in *gāthās*. They were surely compiled long before the redaction of the canonical works was carried out in *Vira* Saṁvat 980 or 993 under the supervision of Devarddhi Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa. If it is correct to locate these *Nijjuttis* as belonging to the fourth century B. C., will one be justified in looking upon them

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[1] He is none else but the veteran scholar and author of several works, Anekāntajayapatākā being one of them. His *svargagamana* is said to have taken place in *Vikrama* Saṁvat 585 i. e. *Vira* Saṁvat 1055. Several scholars however suggest as his life-period *Vikrama* Saṁvat 747 to 827.

[2] Composed in *Śaka* 768 i. e. *Vikarma* Saṁvat 933.

[3] See p. 294, foot-note No. 3.

[4] The Sanskrit equivalent of this word *Nirukta*, is likely to remind one of the well-known commentary on the Nighaṇṭu, by Yāska who is at times addressed as Niruktavat. It may be added that this work on etymological explanation is not named as Nirukta by its author himself.

There occurs the word *Nirutta* in Pāli. It can be rendered in Sanskrit as *Nirukta*. But it should be borne in mind that this is neither an original work nor a commentary written in Pāli. To express in Zoroastrian terminology, it is neither *Avesta* nor *Zend*.

as the oldest metrical commentaries forming a part of the Indo-Āryan literature? Whatever may be a reply to this query, it is certain that these *Nijjuttis* were later on followed by other *Jaina* commentaries more exhaustive than these. Out of them the two types of commentaries known as *Bhāsa* (Skr. *Bhāṣya*[1]) and *Cuṇṇi* (Skr. *Cūrṇi*[2]) seem to be the oldest. After their composition there came an age when the commentaries began to be freely composed in Sanskrit, thus making the exegetical literature on the *Āgamas* of the *Jainas* of four types: (1) *Nijjutti*, (2) *Bhāsa*, (3) *Cuṇṇi* and (4) *Ṭīkā*, the last to denote Sanskrit commentaries.[3] These are in the chronological order of their development. For, *Cuṇṇi* seems to be an intermediate stage between *Bhāsa* on one hand and *Ṭīkā* on the other, since it is neither entirely in Prākrit like its predecessors *Nijjutti* and *Bhāsa* nor completely in Sanskrit

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1-2 Patañjali's commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyīsūtrapāṭha is sometimes styled as Bhāṣya, though mostly as Mahābhāṣya. This work is styled as Cūrṇi, too; ' perhaps because Patañjali notices every minute point of difficulty in Pāṇini's grammar. See " A Sanskrit-English Dictionary " (3rd edn, p. 329) by Monier Williams. Cūrṇikā is there explained " as a kind of easy prose".

The word " Bhāṣya " occurs in the Buddhist Literature, too. For instance, the commentary of Ācārya Sthiramati on Vasubandhu's Triṁśikā is so called. It appears that Vasubandhu has himself written a commentary (vṛtti) on his work Viṁśikā, also known as Viṁśatikā-kārikāḥ, the first of the two prakaraṇas known as Vijñapti-mātratāsiddhi (the other being Triṁśikā) edited by Prof. Sylvain Lèvi, Paris, 1925. Perhaps this is the first *svopajña* Sanskrit commentary available from the Buddhist Literature.

3 These four types of commentaries and Vernacular ones generally known as *Bhāṣāṭīkā*, if taken into account, will make up five types. I do not know, if, in any kind of non-*Jaina* Literature, one can divide its commentaries into five or more types like this. In the Buddhistic Literature, we find, broadly speking, two types noted: (1) *Aṭṭhakathā* and *Ṭīkā*. Fuddhaghosa in his Samantapāsādikā mentions the following commentaries which come under the class of *Aṭṭhakathās*.

(i) The Mahā Aṭṭhakathā.
(ii) The Mahāpaccari.
(iii) The Kurundi.

Dr. Bimal Churn Law has mentioned these with slight changes and noted 4 more as under, in " A History of Pāli Literature " (vol. II, p. 374 ff.) :—

(i) Andha Aṭṭhakathā.
(ii) Samkhepa Aṭṭhakathā.
(iii) Āgamaṭṭhakathā.
(iv) Ācariyānaṁ samānaṭṭhakathā.

like its successor *Ṭīkā*. It is rather a mixture of Prākrit and Sanskrit. This indicates that Sanskrit language was slowly but surely receiving more and more attention at the hands of the *Jainas* who wanted to popularize their literature.[1] *Cuṇṇi* is written in prose and this is another respect in which it differs from *Nijjutti* and *Bhāsa*.

Bhāsa is styled as *Gāhā* (Skr. *Gāthā*[2]) too, since it is composed in *gāthās*, in Prākrit. This is what we can learn from the *vyākhyā* on the 20th *uddeśaka* of Visehacuṇṇi of Nisihasutta. There its author Śrīcandra Sūri, pupil of Śīlabhadra has made the following observation.—

"जे गाहेत्यादि । 'गाथा' शब्देन भाष्यं गाथानिबद्धत्वादभिधीयते ।"[3]

Bhāsa was composed on the *Āgamas* mentioned below :—

(1) Nisīha[4], (2) Vavahāra, (3) Kappasutta[5], (4) Pañcakappa[6], (5) Āvassayasutta, (6) Pañcamangalasuyakkhandha[7] and (7) Jīyakappa.[8]

Out of them there are two *Bhāsas* styled as *laghu* and *bṛhat*, for (1), (3) and (4). So far as I know by this time only the *Bhāṣya* on Vavahāra is printed.

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1 This is what one can say in case he ignores for a moment the *Jaina* tradition which looks upon the *Pūrvas* (forming a major part of the twelfh *Aṅga*) as composed in Sanskrit.

2 Compare the Gāthās of the Zoroastrian Literature, which are versified preachings and are more or less regarded as the work of Zoroaster himself.

3 See D. C. J. M. (Vol, XVII; pt. II; No. 450).

4 The *Bhāṣya* on this work is attributed to Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa. See introduction (p. 10) to Jīyakappa.

5 This is generally known as Bṛhatkalpasūtra. This name seems to have been given after the 8th section of Dasāsuyakkhandha was extracted and styled as Kalpasūtra.

6 Muni Puṇyavijayajī, a grand-disciple of Pravartaka Śrīmat Kāntivijayajī had informed me in his private communication dated 25-7-33 that this formed a topic of the *bhāṣya* of Bṛhat-Kalpasūtra, and was somehow looked upon as a separate treatise as was the case with Ohanijjutti and Piṇḍanijjutti.

Muni Kalyāṇavijayajī has observed that in this work (Pañcakappa), we find a reference to Kālika Sūri regarding his going to Ājīvika for studying aṣṭāṅga-nimitta.

7 The *Bhāsa* on this work is extinct now. See p. 295, fn. No. 1.

8 In the Government Mss. Library at B. O. R. I. we have Mss. for all the *Bhāṣyas* except for (5) and (6). They are described by me. See D. C. J. M. (vol. XVII, pt. II; Nos. 440-442 ; 467-468 ; 567-569 ; and 578).

It may be noted that it will be committing oneself to say that any and every *Bhāṣya* is older than *Cūrṇi*, though it is true that *Bhāṣya* on which we have a *Cūrṇi* is certainly anterior to that *Cūrṇi*. Mahābhāṣya (Viśeṣāvaśyaka) is posterior to some of the *Cūrṇis*. *Bṛhad-bhāṣya* of Kappasutta is preceded by its *Cūrṇi* and *Viśeṣa-cūrṇi*. *Cūrṇi* is as a rule anterior to its corresponding *Viśeṣa-cūrṇi* and it seems that in order that the latter may be distinguished from the former, the word *viśeṣa* (Pr. *viseha*) is added.

Just as *Bhāsa* is also designated as *Gāthā* so *Cuṇṇi* seems to be styled as *Paribhāṣā*, too. [1]

Cūṇṇi was written on the following *Āgamas*:—

(1) Āyāraṅga, (2) Sūyagaḍaṅga, (3) Bhagavaī, (4) Jambuddivapaṇṇatti, (5) Nisīha, (6) Mahānisīha[2], (7) Vavahāra, (8) Dasāsuyakkhandha, (9) Kappasutta, (10) Pañcakappa, (11) Pañcamaṅgalasuyakkhandha, (12) Jīyakappa, (13) Uttarajjhayaṇa, (14) Āvassaya, (15) Dasaveyāliya, (16) Nandīsutta, (17) Aṇuogaddāra and (17) Pakkhisutta. [3]

There were two *Cūrṇis* for (5) and (12). Now only one is available, in each case. Such a one for (5) is called a Visehacuṇṇi. This is the name given by its author Jinadāsa Gaṇi as could be seen from this very work itself. Herein, the author has ingenuously mentioned his name.

The *Cuṇṇis* are as a rule very important. To cite an instance, the Visehacuṇṇi above noted, explains the meaning of Ardhamāgadhī. [4] It mentions important works and personages. As for

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[1] Cf. the following remark of Śrīcandra :—
"तथा परिभाष्यतेऽर्थोऽनयेति परिभाषा चूर्णिरुच्यते ।"
See D. C. J. M. (Vol. XVII, pt. II; No. 449),

[2] Cuṇṇi on this work is to be found no where else than in a Bhaṇḍāra of Jesalmere. Such a remark is made in G. O. Series (Vol. XXI, p. 23).

[3] Here, at the Institute we have Mss. for all except (3), (6), (11), (13) (15), (17) and (18). All of them have been described by me. See D. C. J. M. (Vol. XVII, pt. I-Nos. 9, 10; 51, 52; 246-248; pt. II-Nos. 443-448; 476; 488-490 etc).

[4] "मगहद्धविसयभासानिबद्धं अद्धमागहं । अहवा अ रसदेसीभासाणियतं अद्धमागधं ।" —निशीथचूर्णी । This is what is quoted in G. O. Series Vol. XXVII, p. 87 (introduction).

example, philosophical works such as [1]Siddhiviniccḥaya[2] and Sammai[3] (Sanmati-prakaraṇa) are referred to. Naravāhanadattakathā, Magadhasenā and Taraṅgavatī, three works[4] on narrative literature are also mentioned, here the first as an example of Laukika kathā and the last two as illustrations of Lokottara kathā.

Siddhasena Divākara[5] along with the tradition of his having created horses by means of his knowledge of Joṇipāhuḍa is referred to in this Cuṇṇi.[6]

Jinadāsa Gaṇi has composed *Cuṇṇi* on Nandīsutta in *Śaka* Saṁvat 598 i. e. *Vikrama* Saṁvat 733. Several other *Cuṇṇis* are attributed to him, one of them being on Dasāsuyakkhandha. It may be remarked that the *Cuṇṇis* on various *Āgamas* are said to be belonging to a period running from the 4th century to the 8th of *Vikrama* era.

Before dealing with the *Jaina* commentaries written in Sanskrit, we may note that out of the terms *Nijjutti*, *Bhāsa* and *Cuṇṇi*, the first does not appear to have been used for a commentary on any of the non-*Āgamika* works. Such is not however the case with *Bhāsa* and *Cuṇṇi*; for, they are used for other works, too, though seldom. As the typical examples may be mentioned the following works for which *Bhāsa* was composed :—

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[1] This seems to be the very work noted by Siddhasena Gaṇi in his Bhāṣyānusāriṇī Ṭīkā to Tattvārthādhigamasūtra of Vācakavarya Umāsvāti. See in this connection "A note on Siddhiviniścaya and Sṛṣṭiparīkṣā" published in the Annals of B. O. R. I. (Vol. XIII, pp. 335-336).

[2] This work is noted as under, in the Gujarātī introduction (p. 36) to Sanmati-prakaraṇa with Gujarātī translation etc:—

"दंसणगाही-दंसणणाणप्पभावगाणि सत्थाणि **सिद्धिविणिच्छय-संमति**मादि गेण्हंतो अमंथरमाणे जं अकप्पियं पडिसेवति जयणाते तत्थ सो सुद्धो अप्पायश्चित्ती भवतीत्यर्थः।"

[3] Ibid. "दंसणगाणे त्ति। अस्य व्याख्या-सुत्तत्थातदुभया। दंसणप्पभावगाण सत्थाण **सम्मदियादि** सुतणाणे य जो विसादो णिस्संकियसुत्तत्थो त्ति वुत्तं भवति सो य उत्तिमट्ठपडिवन्नो, सो य जत्थ खेत्ते ठिओ तत्थंतरा वा वेरज्जं मा तं सुत्तत्थं वोच्छिज्जतु त्ति अओ तग्गहणट्ठया पकप्पति वेरज्जाविरुद्धसंकमणं काउं।"

[4] See Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka Vol. III.

[5] He is mentioned in the *Cuṇṇi* to Dasāsuyakkhandha. See D. C. J. M. (Vol. XVII, pt. II; No. 488).

[6] See Sanmatiprakaraṇa (p. 36) noted above. There it is said :

"अथवा तिसु आइल्लेसु णिव्वत्ताधिकरणं, तत्थ ओगालिए एगेंदियादि पंचविधं, तं **जोणीपाहुडातिणा** जहा **सिद्धसेण**यरिएण अस्सा पकता"

(1) Kammaṭṭhaya, (2) Saḍasīi, (3) Sayaga, (4) Sāddhasayaga and (5) Sattariyā.[1]

Out of these works, there is a *Cuṇṇi* for all except the first and the second. Furthermore there is a *Cuṇṇi* for Kammapayaḍi, too. Thus it will be seen that the non-*Āgamika* works of which the commentaries are styled as *Bhāsa* and *Cuṇṇi* are few and far between, and that, at least, so far as the *Śvetāmbara* literature is concerned, they seem to have been used for works of sufficient antiquity.

It may not be amiss to note that the three works viz. Ceiyavandaṇabhāsa, Guravandaṇabhāsa and Paccakkhāṇabhāsa collectively known as Bhāṣyatraya are not commentaries, though the word *Bhāsa* seems to suggest that. It is however true, that each of them is a small work written in Prākrit in *gāthās*.

Now we may take up the question about the date of *Jaina* Sanskrit commentaries. But before doing so we may mention the fact that though it is difficult to distinguish various strata underlying the four types of commentaries on the *Āgamas* which are said to be often much intermingled, yet it should not be forgotten that they serve "as a depository of very many ancient historical or semi-historical traditions on the one hand and of a great mass of popular narrative themes on the other."[2]

About the date of the Sanskrit commentaries pertaining to the *Jain* canonical literature, it may be safely asserted that they had been composed even before the time of Haribhadra Sūri, well-known as Yākinī-mahattarā-sūnu whose commentaries to Āvassayasutta, Dasaveyāliya and other *Āgamas* are still available. If we do not confine ourselves to this *Āgamika* literature, we can very well point out Vācakavarya[3] Umāsvāti's Bhāṣya[4] on his

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[1] All of them practically come under the class of Karmagranthas.

[2] See "A History of Indian Literature" (Vol. II, p. 484).

[3] Different dates are suggested by different scholars for him. Some place him in the first century A. D., whereas others bring him down to the fifth century.

[4] This should be distinguished from *Bhāsa*, the 2nd type of commentaries referred to on p. 297; for, this is written in Sanskrit and mostly in prose, and thus it is not a commentary in *gāthās* on any of the *Āgamas*.

excellent work Tattvārthādhigamasūtra[1], as the oldest *Jaina* Sanskrit commentary that has come to our hands.[2] Furthermore, it appears that this Bhāṣya[3] stands first amongst the *Jaina svopajña*[4] commentaries[5] available at present. Several *Jaina* authors have written *svopajña* commentaries to their works written in Prākrit and Sanskrit. It will suffice to mention a few distinguished ones :—

(1) Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣmāśramaṇa[6], (2) Candraṛsi[7] Mahattara[8], (3) Haribhadra Sūri[9], (3) Hemacandra Sūri[10], the celebrated polygrapher, (5) Munisundara Sūri[11], the sahasrāvadhānin and (6) Nyāyaviśārada Nyāyācārya Yaśovijaya Gaṇi [12]. In this list of the *Śvetāmbara* scholars may be included Akalaṅka [13] and Vidyānandin[14], the *Digambara* ones.

There is a very vast number of *Jaina* commentaries available even now, though a good many seem to be lost. It is not possible to give here a complete list of the lost ones. So, only a few are being pointed out as under :—

(1) *Nijjutti* pertaining to Sūriyapaṇṇatti.
(2) Do Do Do Isibhāsiya.
(3) *Cuṇṇi* Do Do Nisīhasutta
(4-6) *Nijjutti, Bhāsa* and *Cuṇṇi* pertaining to Pañcamaṅgalasuyakkhandha.

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1 This work and its Bhāṣya have been edited by me together with Devagupta Suri's and Siddhasena Gaṇi's commentaries in D. L. J. P. F. Series as Vols. 67 and 76.

2 Pūjyapāda's Sarvārthasiddhi, probably the oldest available *Digambara* commentary is later than this *svopajña* Bhāṣya.

3 I shall be pleased to learn, if, in the non-*Jaina* Literature there exists a *svopajña* commentary older than this.

4 Written by the author himself

5 In the non-*Jaina* Literature, too, we find *svopajña* commentaries, mostly in the case of rhetorical works.

7 His commentary on Pañcasaṅgaha is svopajña according to the tradition.

6, 8-14 I shall mention only one work of each in order, even when there are more :—

(i) Visesāvassayabhāsa (Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya), (ii) Pañcasaṅgaha (Pañcasaṁgraha), (iii) Anekāntajayapatākā, (iv) Siddhahaima, (v) Upadeśaratnākara, (vi) Gurutattavinicchaya (Gurutattvaviniścaya), (vii) Tattvārtharājavārtika and (viii) Tattvārthaślokavārtika.

(7) *Svopajña* commentary to Visesāvassayabhāsa.
(8) Gandhahastin Sūri's commentary to Āyāraṅga.
(9) Do Do Do Do Sūyagaḍaṅga.
(10) *Cuṇṇi* to Jīyakappa referred to by Siddhasena Gaṇi in his Bṛhaccūrṇi (p. 23 [1]) to this work.
(11) Mallavādin's commentary to Sanmati-parkaraṇa.
(12) Haribhadra Sūri's *Bṛhadvṛtti* (84,000 ślokas) to Āvassayasutta.
(13) Some of the commentaries to Tattvārthādhigamasūtra referred to by Siddhasena Gaṇi in his commentary (p. 19) to this work.
(14) Malayagiri Sūri's commentary to Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti.
(15) Do Do Do Do Tattvārthādhigama.
(16) Devendra Sūri's *svopajña* commentary to Bandhasāmitta, the 3rd Karmagrantha (*navya*).

As already noted, Sanskrit commentaries to the *Āgamas* are here spoken of as *Tīkā*. This name is applicable to the Sanskrit commentaries to the non-*Āgamika* literature, too. There are other names [2] which are used in both the cases e. g. (1) *vṛtti*, (2) *vivṛti*[3], (3) *vivaraṇa*, (4) *vivecana*, (5) *vyākhyā*, (6) *vārtika*[4], (7) *dīpikā*[5], (8) *phakkikā*[6], (9) *avacūri*, (10) *avacūrṇi*[7], (11) *arthalava*[8], (12) *akṣarārtha*, (13) *bālāvabodha*[9], (14) *pañjikā*, (15) *ṭippaṇaka*, (16) *paryāya* and (17) *chāyā*.[10] Out of these *avacūri* and the following

[1] "अहवा वितियचुन्निकारामिप्पाएण चत्तारि वि सुत्तेणेव गहिया."

[2] In English, too, we have some words having more or less the same meaning as the word "commentary". They are for instance exegesis, gloss, explanation, annotation, translation etc.

[3] Instead of this we find the word *vivṛtti*, too.

[4] Sometimes a Gujarāti commentary, too, is so named. See D. C. J. M. (Vol. XVII, pt. I, No. 46-47.)

[5-6] Dīpikā and phakkikā may be dropped, in case they are not generic terms but specific ones for "commentary".

[7] This should not be confounded with *cūrṇi*, a type of commentaries already referred to on p. 297.

[8] See D. C. J. M. (Vol. XVII, pt. I, Nos. 97-100.)

[9] Sometimes a Gujarātī commentary too, is so named.

[10] *Chāyā* is only a Sanskrit rendering of the corresponding Prākrit portion. It is known as *prati-saṃskṛta*. See Jineśvara Sūri's commentary on Haribhadra Suri's *Aṣṭakas*.

are not big commentaries, but they resemble more or less explanatory notes.

Like the Sanskrit commentaries, the Vernacular ones also have different names. Some of them are as under :—

(1) *Tabbā*[1], (2) *akṣarārtha*[2], (3) *bhāṣā-ṭīkā* and (4) *vacanikā*.

Ṭabbā[3] of which *stabukātha*[4] is a Sanskrit equivalent, is a small commentary in Gujarātī. So it is only a later development and seems to date earliest from the time Gujarāt became a centre of *Jaina* activities and *Jaina* saints commenced to preach and explain their holy sermons in Gujarātī.

Bālāvabodha when written in Gujarātī is sometimes styled as *ṭabbā*.

Vacanikā is a name for a Hindī commentary generally belonging to a *Digambara* school, which seems to name *sūtra* as *kāphī*.

Now a word about the titles of commentaries. They can be classified under two heads :—

(1) Those whose titles are derived from the metaphorical ones of the corresponding texts and (2) those having independent titles. Upadeśamālā-karṇikā comes under the first head; for, its name is associated in idea with the name of its corresponding text viz. Upadeśamālā. Syādavādamañjarī, a commentary on Anyayogavyavacchedadvātriṁśikā comes under the second head. Sometimes titles for commentaries such as Aṣṭaśatī Aṣṭasahasrī and the like are derived from their extent.

Commentaries can be divided into two groups even according as they are in their turn commented upon or not. It may be said in this connection that *Nijjutti* of Āvassaya can be cited as an example of the first group pertaining to the *Āgamika* commentaries, whereas Āptamīmāṁsā as one referring to the non-*Āgamika* commentaries. The former has Viseśāvassaya dealing with only the 1st part of the *Nijjutti* of Āvassaya and Koṭyācārya's *ṭikā* on it whereas the latter has (1) Aṣṭaśatī, (2) Aṣṭasahasrī

[1] *Anuvāda* and *bālāvabodha* practically belong to the same group as *ṭabbā* and hence they are not included in the above list, to which *vārtika* and *bālāvabodha* may be added.

[2] See D C. J. M. Vol. XVII, pt. I No. 295.

[3] This is styled as *Tabā* by H. T. Colebrooke See Prof. Keith's "Descriptive Catalogue of the Mss. in the Library of the India Office" (p. 1257). It is also called *Ṭabbārtha*.

[4] See the beginning of Karmagrantha etc., No. 649 of 1899-1915.

and (3) *Vivaraṇa*[1] of Aṣṭasahasrī Āptamīmāṁsā thus stands almost unique in *Jaina* literature, inasmuch as it has at least three successive commentaries.

We find parallel instances in the non-*Jaina* literature, too. Three of them are being pointed out here as under :—

(1) Mahābhāṣya [2], (2) Siddhāntakaumudī [3] and (3) Śārīraka-bhāṣya[4].

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[1] This is a praiseworthy composition of Yaśovijaya Gaṇi, a Svetāmbara saint and an eminent scholar of great erudition who has commented upon Aṣṭasahasrī of the *Digambara* school. This is but natural when we see that several *Śvetāmbara* saints have written commentaries even on the non-*Jaina* secular literature. See my Sanskrit introduction (pp. 30-31) to Śobhana Muni's Stuti-caturviṁśatikā. The 6th work should be omitted from the list given here.

[2] This is a well-known commentary on Aṣṭādhyāyīsūtrapāṭha of Pāṇini and has a succession of commentaries which may be pointed out as under :—

Mahābhāṣya (Patañjalī)
|
Pradīpa (Kaiyaṭa)
|
Uddyota (Nāgeśabhaṭṭa)
|
Chāyā or Tippaṇī
Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa)

[3] This is also a commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. The succession of commentaries on it can be indicated as below:—

Siddhāntakaumudī of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita
|
Prauḍhamanoramā (Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita) — Śabdenduśekhara (Nāgojī)
|
Śabdaratna (Hari Dīkṣita) — Candrakalā (Bhairava Miśra)
|
Prabhā (Pāyaguṇḍa Vaidyanātha) — Bhairavī (Bhairava Miśra) — Citraprabhā (Bhāgavata Hari Śāstrī)

[4] This is a well-known commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's Brahmasūtra. Its successive commentaries can be shown as under:—

Śārīrakabhāṣya of Śaṁkarācārya
|
Bhāmati (Vācaspati Miśra) — Pañcapādikā (Pādapadma)
|
Kalpataru (Amalānanda) — Vivaraṇa (Akhaṇḍānanda)
|
Parimala (Appaya) — Ābhoga (Lakṣmīsiṁha) — Tattvadīpana (Amṛtānanda)

Now, I shall say a few words about some terms etc., used especially in commentaries. They are : *navaram*, *navari*, *nigadasiddha*, *kaṇṭhya*, *sugama*[1], *spaṣṭa*[2], *prakaṭa* and the like. The first two are supposed to be used when some additional fact is to be mentioned, whereas the rest when practically the corresponding portion of the text is almost self-evident and consequently requires no further elucidation. Thus, *navaram* and *navari* would mean "in addition" and *nigadasiddha*, "followed as soon as uttered". I shall however quote here what Hemacandra Sūri has said about *navaram* in his Siddhahaima (VIII. 2. 187) It is as under :—

"णवरं केवले ।"

In his *svopajña* commentary to this work (VIII. 2. 187) he remarks:—

"केवलार्थे णवरं इति प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥ णवरं पिआइं चिअ णिव्वडन्ति ॥[3] १८७ ॥"

While explaining the sūtra (VIII. 2. 188) of Siddhahaima he observes :—

"आनन्तर्ये **णवरीति** प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥ **णवरि** अ से रहु-वइणा ॥ केचित् तु केवलानन्तर्यार्थयो **णवरणवरिः** इत्येकमेव सूत्रं कुर्वते तन्मते उभावप्युभयार्थौ ॥ १८८ ॥"

Thus we notice that *navari* or *ṇavari* which connotes *ānantarya* according to Siddhahaima (VIII. 2. 188) is looked upon by some as identical in meaning with *navaram*.

The word *navaram* or *ṇavaram* is explained as *kevalam* by Abhayadeva Sūri in his commentary to Pañcāśaka (XVIII).

The word *navaram* occurs in the following passage of Kalpasūtra:—

"सेसं तहेव, **नवरं** जम्मणं **पास**ाभिलावेणं भाणिअव्वं, जाव तं होउ णं कुमारे **पासे** नामेणं ॥ १५३ ॥"

Navaram occurs in the following line of the *Bhāsa* to Nisīhasutta :—

"दुविधे **णवरं** पुण णाणत्तं वप्पडउ दंडउ तासिं"[4]

1—2 See Ms. 149 of 1891-92 and Ms. 657 of 1892-95 respectively.

3 णवरं पिआइं चिअ णिव्वडंति" occurs in Deśīnāmamālā, too,

4 See D. C. J. M. Vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 10.

Hemacandra uses the word *navaram* in his *svopajña* commentary to Siddhahaima (VIII. 2. 204), the actual citation being as under:--

" अव्वो सुपहायमिणं अव्वो अज्जम्ह सप्फलं जीअं ।
अव्वो अइअम्मि तुमे **णवरं** जइ सा न जूरिहिइ ॥ "

In Kumārapālacarita (Prākrit Dvyāśraya, canto IV), he has used *ṇavara* and *ṇavari* as under:—

" सुत्ते जणम्मि जो हिर सिद्धो चीरीण सुव्वए **णवर** ।
गाअइ किल तस्स मिसा **णवरि** वसंतस्य गिम्हसिरी ॥ ७ ॥ "

Navari occurs in the following line the *Cuṇṇi* of Dasāsuyakkhandha :—

" काले विणए बहुमाणे गाहा । एक्कवीसति **णवरि** णिम्मं णितं छ । ॥ वितीयं अज्झयणं सम्मत्तं ॥ २ ॥ "

Navaram is found in Malayagiri Sūri's commentary (pp. 29[b], 118[b], 133[b] etc.) on Rāyapaseṇiyasutta.

In the *svopajña* commentary of Anekāntajayapatākā, we have the word *nigadasiddham*[1], occurring in one of the concluding verses (the 3rd in number) of the third *adhikāra*.

The word *kaṇṭhya* and its Prākrit form *kaṇṭha*, too, occur in Visehacuṇṇi, as can be seen from the following lines :--

fol. 39[a 2] " ते भणंति । अक्खाह दीवेह गुरुणगाहा ॥ **कंठ्या** ॥ ग्रं० २००० ॥ "

fol. 216[b 3] सेसातो गाहातो **कंठातो** ॥ छ ॥ व्यवहारप्रकृतं समाप्तं ॥ "

The word *kaṇṭha* is found in the *Cuṇṇi* of Dasāsuyakkhandha, also.

Kaṇṭhyā occurs in the concluding lines of *ṭikā*[4] of Siddhapāhuḍa.

I have not as yet come across any passage in non-*Jaina* works where either of the words *navaram*, *nigadasiddha* and *kaṇṭhya* occurs. So it may be a special feature of the *Jaina* works. However it may be mentioned in this connection that the word *nigadavyākhyāta* occurring in non-*Jaina* works serves the purpose of *nigadasiddha* and *kaṇṭhya*. I may point out some of these sources. For instance, *nigadavyākhyātāḥ* occurs in Taittirīyāraṇyaka (1st prapāṭhaka, 9th anuvāka). Sāyaṇācārya explains this as under :--

निगद्यमानेनैव मन्त्रपाठेनैव तेषां वायूनां महिमा विस्पष्टमाख्यातो भवति "

—p. 41 Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series Vol. XXXVI

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[1] " विप्रकृष्टः पुमान् सत्त्वम्, वस्त्रादौ रक्तादिवत्, इति निगदसिद्धमेव । "

[2] These folios refer to the Ms. No. 152 of 1881-82. For its description see D. C. J. M. (vol. XVII, pt. II; No. 476.)

[4] See D. C. J. M. Vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 389.

Nigadavyākhyātā occurs in Nirukta in several places, some of them being as under :—

" यच्चिद्धि त्वं गृहेगृह उलूखलक युज्यसे ।
इह द्युमत्तमं वद जयतामिव दुन्दुभिः ॥
इति सा निगदव्याख्याता ॥ ९–२१ ॥ "

" इहेन्द्राणीमुप ह्वये वरुणानीं स्वस्तये ।
अग्नायीं सोमपीतये ॥
इति सा निगदव्याख्याता ॥ ९–३४ ॥ "

" शुनासीराविमां वाचं जुषेथां यद्दिवि चक्रथुः पयः ।
तेनेमामुप सिञ्चतम् ॥
इति सा निगदव्याख्याता । ९–४१ ।"

Nigadavyākhyātam is met with, in Dhanika's Avaloka on Daśarūpaka. Vide p. 5 of the N. S. Edn. Nṛsiṁha who comments upon Dhanaṁjaya and Dhanika gives the *pratīka* निगदव्याख्यातमिति: [1]

The word *spaṣṭam* occurs in the Avaloka on leaf 22 of D. 12888.[2]

There are some other features that I have noted in commentaries. When the sense is to be pointed out in clearer terms, the commentator uses the expression इदमुक्तं भवति or एतदुक्तं भवति of which " that is to say" may be looked upon as an English equivalent. Sometimes a question as to what is construed is asked as किमुक्तं [3] भवति[4] Vide *svopajña* commentary to Anekāntajayapatākā (ch. IV; p. 355[5], 462, 476 etc.).

When the commentator wants to suggest that the author himself elucidates the point, he seems to use " एतदेव भावयति ". See *svopajña* commentary (pp. 457–460, 483 etc.) to Anekāntajayapatākā.

In the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, we find एतज्ज्ञापयति instead of

1 See pp. 492-493 of "The Bṛhatkathā, the Mudrārākṣasa, and the Avaloka of Dhanika on the Daśarūpaka." published in " Indian Culture " (vol. I, No. 3).

2 See the Descriptive Catalogue of the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. *Ibid* pp. 491–492.

3 किमुक्तं occurs in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya to Vārtika to I, I, 60.

4 This is found in the vṛtti (p. 3) of Viṁśatikākārikāḥ.

5 This and the following pages refer to my press-copy of Anekāntajayapatākā together with its svopajña commentary and ṭippaṇaka.

एतदेव भावयति। Out of many instances, I may cite two as under :—

"एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषा व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्नहि सन्देहादलक्षणमिति।"[1]

"एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्यत्र सञ्ज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्न भवतीति।"[2]

There is another fact to be noted regarding *Jaina* commentaries. Whenever a *Jaina* commentator comes across contradictory passages from older works which cannot be easily reconciled, he does not attempt to give a verdict but remarks as below :—

"तत्त्वं तु केवलिनो विदन्ति".

For instance, Vinayavijaya Gaṇi makes a similar remark in his Subodhikā (p. 126[3]), a commentary to Kalpasūtra.

In these days when we want to point out what has already been previously said, we use the words "see above" or *supra*, and, while referring to what is to follow, we use the words "see below" or *infra*. In olden days, in the corresponding cases we find the following words respectively used in Sanskrit commentaries :—

(I) (a) प्राक्[4], (b) अधः,[5] (c) अधस्तात् and (d) अग्रे.[6]

(II) (a) उपरिष्टात्, (b) परस्तात्, (c) पुरस्तात् and (d) ऊर्ध्वम्.

The word प्राक् is used by Haribhadra in his commentary (pp. 397, 432, 479, 525[7] etc.) to Anekāntajayapatākā and by Siddhasena Gaṇi in his bhāṣyānusāriṇī ṭīkā (p. 31)[8] to *Tattavārthādhigamasūtra.*

The word अधः occurs in the *svopajña* commentary (pp. 410[9], 498 etc.) to Anekāntajayapatākā.

अधस्तात् is also found in this commentary on op. 430[10] and 522[11].

1–2 See pp. 35 and 318 respectively of Kielhorn's edition (2nd) of "The Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya of Pantañjali" Vol. I.

3 This page-number refers to D. L. J. P. F. Series No. 61.

4–5 They occur in texts, too. See the 4th chapter of Anekāntajayapatākā p. 494 and p. 495 respectively.

6 The use of the past tense connected with अग्रे occurs in "दर्शितमेवाग्रे" in Dhvanyāloka. Abhinavagupta explains this in his Locana as "दर्शितमेवेति कारिकाकारेणेति भूतप्रत्ययः" See Kāvyamālā edition, p. 138.

7 "निदर्शितं प्राक्–सदसद्रूपाधिकारे।"

8 "प्रागवाचि वाचकमुख्येन 'लक्षणतो विधानतश्चोपदेक्ष्यामः' इति।"

9 "उक्तम् अधः। वक्ष्यते च ऊर्ध्वम्।"

10 "भवत्पक्षे कस्यचित् क्वचित् सहकारित्वायोगादित्येतान्निर्लोठितं प्रपञ्चेन अधस्तात्।"

11 "निर्णीतमेतदधस्तात् सदसद्रूपाधिकारे।"

उपरिष्टात् is met with in Siddhasena Gaṇi's commentary (p. 52 [1] above referred to, and in the *svopajña* commentary (p. 344) to Anekāntajayapatākā. It occurs in Nirukta, too. [2]

परस्तात् has been used by Umāsvāti in his bhāṣya (pp. 350[3], 441[4]) to Tattvārthādhigamasūtra (V, 22 ; V, 44)

पुरस्तात् occurs in this very bhāṣya (pp. 25[5], 76-77, 156 and 271) of Tattvārtha I. 1, I. 13, II. 11 and IV. 1. This is found in Siddhasena Gaṇi's commentary (p. 95[6]), too.

The use of the past tense connected with पुरस्तात् is found in Nirukta (VII, 23) as under :—

अभि प्रवन्त समनेव योषाः । इति तत् पुरस्ताद् व्याख्यातम् । "

ऊर्ध्वम् occurs in the Bhāṣya (p. 296[7]) to Tattvārthādhigamasūtra (IV. 17) and *svopajña* commentary (pp. 359[8], 371, 410) to Anekānatajayapatākā.

Now we shall turn to Prākrit commentaries. Therein, we find the words पुव्वि[9] and हेट्ठ[10] used in the same sense as प्राक् and अधः, and कंठ for कण्ठ्य.

As this is after all a brief outline, I shall just mention the place assigned to a commentary in a Ms. containing the text

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[1] इहैवाध्याये प्रत्यक्षं परोक्षं चेति वक्ष्यते **उपरिष्टात्** । "

[2] "यानि त्वस्य प्राधान्येनोपरिष्टात् तानि व्याख्यास्यामः ।" (२-१३).
" स विश्वामित्रो नदीस्तुष्टाव गाधा भवतेत्यपि द्विवदपि बहुवच् तद् यद् द्विवदुपरिष्टात् तद् व्याख्यास्यामः । अथैतद् बह्वृचत् । " (२-२४).

[3] " तं **परस्ताद्** वक्ष्यामः । "

[4] " योगस्तु **परस्ताद्** वक्ष्यते । " This is explained as under by Siddhasena Gaṇi on p. 44 :—
" परस्तादिति उपरिष्टात् षष्ठाध्यायादिसूत्रे । "

[5] " तं **पुरस्ताल्लक्षणतो** विधानतश्च वक्ष्यामः । " This is explained by Siddhasena on p. 27 as below:—
" पुरस्तादिति अस्मात् सूत्रादुपरितनसूत्रेषु । "

[6] " उक्तमेतदिति भद्रप्रयोजनं **पुरस्तात्** । "

[7] "चतुर्थो देवनिकायो वैमानिकाः, तेऽत्र ऊर्ध्वं वक्ष्यन्ते ।" Siddhasena explains this on p. 297 as " तेऽतः इतः प्रभृत्यूर्ध्वं–प्राक् स्थितेः वक्ष्यन्ते "

[8] " अस्य च–वासनाद्ययोगस्य-उक्तत्वात् अभिधीयमानत्वाच्चोर्ध्वम् । "

[9] This occurs in a text too. For instance, in Ārāhaṇāpaḍāgā we have :—
" भत्तपरिण्णाए वण्णिमो **पुव्वि** "

[10] This word is found in the following line of the *Bhāsa* of Jīyakappa :—
" जह **हेट्ठा**ऽऽवस्सए भणियं "

as well. Generally such a Ms. is *tripāṭī*[1] and at times *pañcapāṭī*.[2] In the former case the commentary is written above and below the text which occupies the central portion and which is usually written in comparatively bigger hand-writing. In the case of a pañcapāṭī Ms. too, the text occupies the central position; but the corresponding commentary is written on all the four sides of it, the actual order being usually as under :—

(1) Place above the text, (2) to its right, (3) to its left and (4) below it.

If the commentary happens to be a ṭabbā or a Gujarātī bālāvabodha, it is interlinear or written in several columns above the corresponding portion of the text,[3] the columns mostly marked out in red ink.

Before finishing this article,[4] I may here give an alphabetical list of the various terms used for or in conncetion with commentaries, reserving at the same time for some other occasion the question of the dates since they have been in vogue. The list is as under :—

Akṣarārtha : 303, 304[5]
Aṅga : 292, 294, 298
Aṭṭhakathā : 297
Anuvāda : 304
Arthalava : 303
Avacūri : 303, 304
Avacūrṇi : 303
Avesta : 296
Āgama : 293, 297-301, 303, 304
Kāphī : 304
Gāthā : 294, 296, 298, 299, 301
Gāhā : 298
Cuṇṇi : 295, 297-303
Cūrṇi : 297, 299
Cūrṇi (Viśeṣa) : 299
Cuṇṇi (Viseha) : 299
Cūrṇi (Bṛhat) : 303
Cūrṇikā : 297

1—2 These two are styled as त्रिपाठी and पञ्चपाठी as well. Moreover, there an interesting history associated with these names, but it is now reserved for some other occasion.

3 *Chāyā* which is given for Prākrit verses, is also written in Mss. above the corresponding line of the text. In the printed editions, generally, *chāyā*, is given below the corresponding complete verse. When a Gujarātī meaning is to be given, the same procedure as found in Mss. is adopted.

4 For supplying to me Nirukta-passages quoted in this article on p. 308, I am indebted to Mr. G. S. Deshmukh, B. A. For foot-notes 2-3 given on p. 305 and fn. no. 2 on p. 309 I have been obliged by K. V. Anantanarayan shastri and his brother, K. V. Krishnamurti Sarma. I have to thank Mr. A. M. Ghatage, M. A. for fn. No. 5 on p. 309.

5 This refers to a page-number of this article. The same is the case with other numbers.

Chāyā : 303, 311
Zend : 296
Ṭabā : 304
Ṭabbā : 304
Ṭabbārtha : 304
Ṭippaṇaka : 303
Ṭikā : 297, 298, 303
Tivai : 292
Tripadī : 292
Dīpikā : 303
Duvālasaṅga : 292
Dvādaśāṅgī : 292, 293
Nijjutti : 293–298, 300, 302
Nirukta : 296
Nirutta : 296
Niryukti : 293–296
Paribhāṣā : 299
Pañjikā : 303
Paryāya : 303
Pratisaṁskṛta : 303
Phakkikā : 303
Bālāvabodha : 303, 304, 311
Bhāṣāṭīkā : 297, 304
Bhāṣāntara : 304
Bhāṣya : 297, 298, 299
Bhāṣya (Bṛhat) 298, 299
,, (Laghu) 298
Bhāsa : 295, 297–302
Mahābhāṣya : 297, 299
Vacanikā : 304
Vārtika : 303, 304
Vivaraṇa : 303
Vivecana : 303
Visehacuṇṇi : 299
Vivṛtī : 303
Vivṛtti : 303
Vṛtti : 297, 303
Vṛtti (Bṛhat) : 303
Vyākhyā : 298, 303
Sūtra : 292
Stabukārtha : 303
Svopajña : 302, 303

MISCELLANEA

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

RARE MANUSCRIPTS OF SUBHŪTICANDRA'S COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA.

XXXIII

In an article contributed by me to the Kuppuswami Shastri Commemoration Volume I have tried to prove that Subūticandra wrote his commentary on the Amarakośa between A. D. 1062 and A. D. 1172. My conclusion was based on the analysis of a fragment of this commentary [Govt. Ori. Mss. Library No. R. 2933 (1-35-44)] as given by Dr. T. R. Chintamani in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras [1] and the reference to Subhūti in the grammatical work Durghaṭavṛtti of Śaraṇadeva composed in A. D. 1172. I have not been able to identify the quotation from Subhūti occurring in the Durghaṭavṛtti as no Ms of Subhūti's work has yet been available to me. Even the Madras fragment analysed by Dr. Chintamani was stated by him to be the only Ms newly brought to light. I was, therefore, curious to know if more Manuscripts of this valuable commentary were brought to light by the efforts of research scholars in recent years.

Thanks to the labours of Tripiṭakācārya Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana we have been fortunate enough to know that three more Mss of Subhūticandra's commentary on the Amarakośa have been brought to light. In his recent list of " *Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss in Tibet* " he refers to three manuscripts of this work viz.-

(1) Copy in the Lalchand Library of the D. A. V. College, Lahore.

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[1] J. O. R. Madras, Vol. VIII, pp. 372-380 (1934).

(2) Two copies available in Tibet., these are:—

(i) *Page 40 of the list.*— IV-Nagor Monastery (one day's journey from Si-gar-tse). Vol. No. XXVII, 150 अमरकोशटीका (कवि-कामधेनु) author सुभूतिचन्द्र; Script मागधी; size 12 × 2⅓ inches, leaves 192-389; lines in each page 7, 8, incomplete. (Footnote No. 1— "In the colophon "संवत् ३१३ (313 N E = *1191* A. D.) फाल्गुन कृष्ण तृतीय बृहस्पति").

(ii) *Page 43 of the list.*–V-Gu-rim-lha-Khang Library Sa-skya. Vol. II - 1 - 180— अमरकोशटीका (कामधेनु); Author सुभूतिचन्द्र; Script मागधी; Size 22½ × 2½ inches; leaves 9 lines 1-8-10 pages.

Unfortunately these manuscripts of the commentary available in Tibetan monasteries are incomplete. Rāhula Saṁkṛtyāyana does not furnish any details about the D. A. V. College Ms of the commentary referred to by him.

It will thus be seen that there are now 4 Mss of the commentary brought to light though they are hardly sufficient for a critical edition of the whole work.

The Ms in the Nagor Monastery is very important as it corroborates my conclusion about the date of Subhūticandra (between A. D. 1062 and 1172). This copy on palm-leaf is dated 313 Nepali Era = A. D. *1191* and this date of the copy harmonizes with Śaraṇadeva's reference to Subhūti in his Durghaṭavṛtti in A. D. 1172. We may, therefore, safely conclude that Subhūti wrote his commentary on the Amarakośa about the first half of the 12th century say between A. D. 1100 and 1140. The date A. D. 1191 for a palm-leaf Ms of this commentary need not be looked upon with suspicion as the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses dated palm-leaf Mss some of which have even earlier dates.

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1 Journal of Bihar & Ori. Res. Society, Vol. XXI pp. 21-43 (1935).

REVIEWS

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, ANALYSIS AND INDEX. By Edward P. Rice. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xvi+112. (Price Rs. 5.)

"The *Mahābhārata* is much more than an epic story of the heroic age of Ancient India," as the Rev. Mr. Rice has well remarked in the short but interesting Preface to this little book; "it is a vast repository of Hindu traditional lore, philosophy and legend....It is accepted as an authoritative *smṛiti* by a hundred million followers of Brāhmanical tradition....In it have been incorporated extensive treatises on law, philosophy, religion and custom, together with numerous episodes, legends and discussions—amounting in all to four-fifths of its bulk....It discloses to us an age-long quest, made by a religiouslyminded people, for a solution of the perennial problems of the human race with regard to the relation of man to the seen and unseen Universe, death and the hereafter, sin and sorrow, the standards of conduct, and the way to eternal bliss." A knowledge of the results of this quest is essential for any adequate comprehension of the morals and religious ideals of the Indians. This is the thought that has led—and rightly led—the Rev. Mr. Rice towards the Great Epic of India.

The Mahābhārata has often been described, and justly, as a "jungle" of information. Mr. Rice's Analysis and Index of its contents is an attempt—as he says—to provide "a *map* of this jungle—a plan of paths and byways through it, which shall make its contents easily accessible." And we have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Professor L. D. Barnett, expressed in his short Foreword to the book under review, that Mr. Rice's Analysis and Index will prove immensely useful to students of the Mahābhārata.

Mr. Rice would have been greatly helped in his work had he made use of Professor Hermann Jacobi's *Inhaltsangabe* (published as long ago as 1903), which is a far more complete and far

more accurate summary of the Mahābhārata, but Mr. Rice (as he tells us himself in his Preface) had no knowledge of Professor Jacobi's work till he had made some progress with his own attempt. Even so Mr. Rice could have, with advantage, made greater use of it.

When drawing up the Index, Mr. Rice would likewise have been considerably helped by the late Professor S. Sörensen's elaborate *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* (London, 1925), comprising over 800 pp. (large quarto). Mr. Rice appears to have had no knowledge of this work whatsoever, as he does not mention it even in his little book.

Mr. Rice has done his work well on the whole, but there are a few inconsistencies and inaccuracies, especially in the spelling of Sanskrit words, mistakes which are likely to confuse or mislead those users of his Analysis who do not know how these words are pronounced. The Sanskrit व, for example, is correctly transcribed by *va* in the initial position (cf. Index under *v*); but in other positions, although there is no difference in the pronunciation of the sound, the old spelling with *w* has frequently crept in; for example, in Aświns (p. 22), Dwāravatī (pp. 14 twice, 79 etc.), Dwaitavana (pp. 18 twice, 24 etc.). All these names are again spelt correctly (with *v*) in the Index, in the preparation of which Mr. Rice had probably taken the help of Jacobi's *Inhaltsangabe*, mentioned above.

Other errors of transcription are: p. 13 *Vidura-gamana-parva*, p. 14 Chitrāngada (for °gadā), p. 15 *Sabhā-kṛiya*, p. 21 Lopamudrā, p. 22 Ashṭavakra, p. 32 Upaplava (for Upaplavya), p. 46 *Aishīkā-parva*, p. 56 Suka, p. 84 Bhārata sāvitṛi. These are, however, minor blemishes, and any Sanskritist (the writer for one) would be glad to help Mr. Rice out by revising the spelling of Sanskrit words, in the event of a second edition being called for, as we fervently hope it will be.

We may draw attention to some other errors, of a more serious nature, which should have been avoided. By some strange lapse of memory, Mr. Rice calls Śaunaka a *king* (pp. 5 and 7), when he was, in fact, a very well-known Brahman Ṛṣi, a Kulapati, in fact, an *ascetic* dwelling in the sacred Naimiṣa forest! P. 11, Kṛipa's sister was Kṛipī, not Kṛipā.

In citing the original Sanskrit names of the sub-parvans, Mr. Rice has given in parenthesis, what appears to be, at first sight, a translation of these Sanskrit words; but sometimes these parenthetical additions are quite irrelevant, not to say erratic.—P. 14, *Haraṇāharaṇa* is not "the capture of the captor" but the bringing of the dowry.—P. 29 *Samaya-pālana* is not "a wrestling match," but the observance of the compact (viz., to remain incognito during the last year of the exile).—P. 31 *Yānasandhi* is not a "council to decide peace or war," but the interval between the missions. P. 40 *Nārāyaṇā tra-mokshaṇa*, is not the "neutralization of the Nārāyaṇa weapon" but the release or discharge of that magical weapon.—P. 47 *Jalapradānika* is not the "reconciliation of Dhṛitarāṣhṭra and the Pāṇḍavas," but offering of water-libation (as part of the funeral ceremony).

In the summary of adhy. 132–133 of the Ādi. it is said that Arjuna "cruelly rid himself of a Nishāda rival," but it may be pointed out that, in the original, no cruelty is implied on the part of Arjuna; it was Ācārya Droṇa who asked for the thumb of the right hand of the Niṣāda prince Ekalavya and got it, incapacitating Ekalavya for life. Extreme caution is necessary in making a summary.

Of the two Indices which the book contains, I have already referred to one: the Index of Names. The other Index is far more important, the Index of Subjects. Here Mr. Rice is all but pioneer, the only other attempt being again that of Professor Jacobi, who, at the end of his *Inhaltsangabe*, has devoted a little over a page to it. Jacobi's "*Kurzes Sachregister*" contains the following ten main headings, with some sub-divisions: (1) Philosophical, (2) Cosmological, (3) Caste, (4) Āśramas, (5) Women, (6) Religion, (7) Morality, (8) Dharma, (9) Nīti, and (10) Literary. Mr. Rice has added some more headings and has introduced many new sub-divisions. Mr. Rice's main rubrics are as follows: (1) the Relation of Man to the Material and Spiritual Universe; (2) Conceptions of Deity; (3) Worship and Religious Rites; (4) Sacrifices; (5) Death and the Hereafter; (6) Ethical Teaching; (7) Problems of Life; (8) Women, Marriage, Parenthood; (9) the Four Castes; (10) the Four Āśramas; (11) King-

craft; (12) Warfare; (13) the Material Universe; (14) Chronology and History; and (15) Literary.

This is unquestionably the most valuable part of Mr. Rice's work, and all Sanskritists will feel grateful to him for it. Everyone realizes and admits that a subject-index to the Mbh. is an essential prerequisite for a critical study of the Great Epic, but no one has had the necessary leisure and patience to index systematically all the heterogenous subjects dealt with in those 100,000 stanzas. If properly made, a complete (or nearly complete) Index of this kind might easily require for itself a book larger than Mr. Rice's; but we must be grateful for what we now possess.

The book was not compiled for the consumption of the scholar, *qua* scholar. Mr. Rice's idea was to introduce and popularize, among his countrymen, the study of the Great Epic of the Indian people, and pave the way for bringing about a better understanding of each other's ideas and ideals—a laudable object in itself. So we must not be too exacting and captious in our criticism of minutiæ. We shall therefore close this short notice by expressing the hope that the book will have a wide circulation, and will soon see a second edition, which will give Mr. Rice an opportunity to remove some of the minor blemishes pointed out above, and to increase further the usefulness of the book by adding some new titles and references to his excellent subject-index. He will then surely earn the merit of having made a solid contribution to Mahābhārata studies.

V. S. Sukthankar

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN HONOUR OF CURSETJI ERACHJI PAVRI Edited by J. C. Pavri, with a foreword by A. V. Williams Jackson. pp. xvi+503 London : Oxford University Press, 1933, 50s net.

This treatise is a valuable collection of Essays and Researches on Oriental Languages, Literature, History, Philosophy and Art by a number of eminent scholars of different countries of the world, and contains dissertations on such a variety of subjects that it is practically impossible for a single scholar to be presumptuous to feign to appreciate and digest every one of them. It is an elaborate and laborious compilation due to the indefatigable efforts of a dutiful son as a mark of devotion and filial love for his venerable parent, and the Editor deserves very high compliments for bringing together such a mass of rich Oriental knowledge, which is likely to be of very great use to scholars. The foreword by Dr. Jackson clearly explains the circumstances which led to the conception of such an important compilation and the readiness with which the learned writers of the various subjects have contributed their mite, clearly shows the common bond of brotherhood which exists amongst students of Oriental lore in the different countries of the world. Such memorial volumes afford a very suitable opportunity for bringing together such a mass of knowledge which otherwise would remain scattered and concealed in the four corners of the globe ; and one can very easily appreciate the huge amount of output of energy and labour of the Editor of such a momentous work. The Publishers also deserve good credit for the very nice execution of the work and there is not the least doubt that the readers are bound to acknowledge their indebtedness to the authors of these papers and to the Editors and publishers of this volume. The price of 50 s./- charged for the volume is though not very high in comparison with the mass of knowledge accumulated in the volume and the cost of production yet for a wide circulation and appreciation of such works amongst the people at large there ought to be cheaper and popular editions of such works for mass diffusion of such a knowledge.

D. D. Kapadia

A NEW APPROACH TO THE VEDAS--AN ESSAY IN TRANSLATION AND EXEGESIS, BY Ananda K. Coomarswamy ; pp. x, 116 ; London, Luzac and Co., 1933.

In this little book the well-known author and art critic Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy has attempted a new *Approach* to the spirit of the Vedas. To illustrate his method he has taken two selections from the Upaniṣads and three from the Ṛgveda. It is appropriate to such a theme that the work should begin with Bṛhadāraṇyaka I, 2 *Naiveha kiṁcanāgra āsīt* etc. Maitr. VI, 1-4 is merely translated without comment. The Vedic passages include the *Nāsadīya* hymn and the *Puruṣasūkta*. The method employed is explained by the author himself in the Introduction, p. viii : " What I have called here a ' *New approach* ' is nothing more than an essay in the exposition of Vedic ideas by means of a translation and a commentary in which the resources of other forms of the universal tradition are taken for granted." In other words the author does not confine himself to the shibboleth of the comparative philologist nor merely to that of Anthropology nor entirely to that of the history of religion. If one expects to find a philological translation here one is bound to be disappointed ; the effort of nearly a century of philological research has not brought us nearer to the real spirit of the Vedas, and it is needless to repeat here the senseless arguments which formed so large a part of the scholarship of the last century. A wide study of the mystics of different parts of the world from the point of view of a Universal Tradition will, the author shows, bring about a greater appreciation of the inner significance of these most ancient works. A very useful set of notes is appended at the end. The work should be in the hands of every scholar since its view point is of fundamental interest.

A few things should be remembered by every scholar who attempts to understand the dominant note of Vedic texts. Mere philology or Linguistics can only pierce holes in the fabric, but the connecting thread is missing, and the result is that we see only pinpricks where we should really see the fabric as a whole. Similarly a comparative study of other religious literatures of it-

self will not enable us to guage the full depth of meaning, though it will give a few important results. Again a historical approach, which to the modern mind is the most rational and scientific will more often than not lead us into error. The inner significance of all sacred revealed texts lies not in these directions, it is to be understood by one's realisation. It is the striving after this realisation which constitutes the *adhikāra* for final revelation. In this sense the *living tradition* from *enlightened souls* is after all the greatest authority, the truest approach to the sublime truth of a religion. Dr. Coomaraswamy deserves the thaks of a thinking public for initiating this approach, for truly the Vedas contain the cream of this Universal Tradition and Experience from which cause they have been called Eternal; and in the language of the Purāṇas even Brahman has to create with the help of this Universal Experience.

S. M. Katre

UPAVANA—VINODA Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.

It is almost a common place to say that a lot of ancient Sanskrit literature in positive sciences remains to be explored and brought to the notice of the scientists We therefore welcome the new book, Upavana-Vinoda-a Sanskrit treatise on Arbori-Horticulture published by Prof. G. P. Majumdar. It is only a part of the great work of Śārṅgadhara who flourished in the thirteenth century. From this little book before us, we are delighted to see how the good people of that period had exalted ideas about public and private gardens, about trees planted not only for economic but for altruistic purposes. It is indeed very remarkable that the necessity of green manuring with pulse crops before sowing seed was strongly advocated. The care with which seed was sown in seed beds and the young seedlings were taken out for transplanting deserves mention. The chapter on classification of soils into dry, desert, moist or swampy and ordinary soils, and of plants belonging to these regions into (1) xerophytes (2) hygrophytes and (3) mesophytes respectively, is very elaborate; and observations with respect to these are substantially correct. Similarly the methods of propagation of plants by various means are interesting. Prof. Majumdar believes that the art of grafting was known to Varāhamihira and that it was one of the 64 kalās or arts (verse 5 of Vṛkṣāyurveda). We wish however that this subject was dealt with more in detail either by Varāhamihira or by Śārṅgadhara.

The principles of laying out an ornamental garden with large flower-beds, groves and clusters of trees, rockeries, swings of lianas, large ponds with boating arrangements are expounded in full details and are worth studying by the city fathers of modern municipalities. "That it is well to avoid shades of all trees in one's own house" (verse 27) is a maxim worth bringing to the notice of house-owners in modern town-planning areas. The theory of spacing trees in different regions is very beautifully described. "One should plant trees with an eye to the fact that there is room for the spread of their roots and one must see that the leaves of each other do not touch (verse 70). This is a very sound principle in practical horticulture.

The importance of manuring trees was well understood in Śārṅgadhara's time. Farm yard manure was of course widely used; but bones, fish, fish washings, oil cakes, powdered pulses and decaying flesh including beef are also highly recommended. Stools of pigs are also recommended as manure, but strange to say, this manure is not now even touched by the Hindus in the Goa Territory where pigs are reared in large numbers by the Christians

Ecological observations are in the main correct. Right types of trees are suggested for embankments of tanks. The Pilu tree (Salvadore) indicates brackish water. So far as we know, there is at present only one betel nut tree at Gokarn in the Bombay Presidency with two tops; but Upavana-Vinoda seems to have noticed many such plants.

In the domain of plant pathology, they had made a certain progress. Low temperature as well as high, dry wind, heavy rain, were the principal causes of diseases. The remedy in these and other cases was to remove the affected parts with a knife and then apply mud kneaded with ghee and Vidang (Embelia ribes) to these parts, in some cases application of decoction of pulses to the roots was recommended. In short, Śārṅgadhara rightly warns his readers that trees do not produce fruits and flowers merely for being planted (147).

Each age has its own right ideas and wrong ideas which are discarded as time goes on. Upavana-Vinoda also has given some wrong notions about plant life, but we need not be very critical on this point-particularly regarding botanical marvels.

H. P. Paranjpye

TUNG KHUNGIA BURANJI OR A HISTORY OF ASSAM By Prof. S. K. Bhuyan, M. A., B. L. (Oxford University Press).

(1) The Assamese Buranjis give a well-dated human account of the happenings in Assam. In the present book, Prof. Bhuyan the indefatigable and devoted student of Assamese History has tried to give with the help of Assamase Buranjis a complete history of Assam from 1670 down to the days of the British occupation. The chief authority is the Buranji or chronicle written by Shrinath Barbarua who wrote in Shaka 1725 (1804 A. D.) Shrinath was a high officer of the Ahom Government being its commander and also chief justice. Prof. Bhuyan rightly, calls it " A historical classic of the highest importance ".

(2) Assam is a small province to the North-East of India but its history has got a special significance for various reasons. For full six centuries power in Assam was held by the Ahom Dynasty in continuons succession helped by a few hereditary aristocratic families, who became important officers of the Assamese Government, such as the Bar Gohain, the Bura Gohain, the Bar Barua aud the Bar Phukan. In the 17th century, the Shan Āhoms adopted the Hindu Religion and the Assamese Language as their own. The history of Assam possesses a striking resemblance to the history of Marathas in particular. Meer Jumla directed a vigorous onslaught against Western Assam or Kamarupa but Swargadeva Chakradharsing recovered lost ground by the help of the veteran Assamese General Lachit Bar Phukan. In the battle of Saraighat, the Moguls led by Ramsing were forced to retire. Concentration on Gauhatti resulted in the Assamese capital Gargaon being neglected. Civil war ensued. At last, the Ahoms were roused to their senses and after some vicissitudes the Tung Khungia monarchs were confirmed in their hold. The story of the brave stand of Devi Jayamati Kumari Rani is an inspiring chapter, reading like a novel. In the days of Rudrasing (1696–1714) when the Marathas seriously challenged the power of the Moguls from the Deccan, the Assamese Swargadeva was planning an inroad on Delhi, by sending Bairagi agents all over India to all Hindu kings requesting their sympathy in his fight against the Moguls. Unfortunately, Rudrasing died soon-

after. He may be regarded as the Shivaji of Assam, followed by the worthless Shivasing who resembled Sambhaji in some respects. The Moamarians were turned into enemies of the Government very soon afterwards. But like Nanasaheb Peshwa his contemporary Swargadeva Rajeshwarsing raised the Ahom power to the height of glory. The Vaishnava party was now tyrannised, the Moamarians turned rebels and in the days when the Buragohain Purnanand had sway over affairs, British aid was requested which soon ended in a full absorption of Assam by the British.

This is an extremely interesting story and Prof. Bhuyan deserves highest praise for the able manner in which he has presented it in his very careful translation. The glossary of Assamese words at the end is a very useful addition. The introduction, giving a general review of the work and achievements of the Ahom power gives a very impressive picture of Ahom character. A coloured picture of an Assamese King and his Queen adds to the utility of this volume which also contains necessary geneaologies and an index. Prof. Bhuyan laments over the mentality of the educated Assamese which hardly has been fitted for a proper understanding and appreciation of the work such as has been undertaken by scholars like him. Instead of writing formal histories based on sources, Prof. Bhuyan and his friends are concentrating on editing and publishing all original historical material about Assamese history and this is, in our opinion, the correct way. We wish to have more such books and many more Buranjis to give us an insight into the most chequered history of Kamarupa.

D. V. Potdar

ĀDARSHA SĀDHU—An Ideal Monk; by A. J. Sunvala, B. A., LL. B. with a Prefatory Note by Prof. F. W. Thomas and a Foreword by Prof. Sylvain Lévi; Shri Vizay Dharmasuri Jain Granthamala, No. 12. Cambridge University Press, 1934. pp. i-xv, 1-185.

Shri Vijaya Dharma Sūri, whose life and work are presented to us in this volume, was undoubtedly one of the most pious Jaina Sādhus of the present century. In his scholarship, benevolence and nobility of character he was indeed an ideal monk. Apart from the good he did to his own community and literature he has laid the Indologists of East and West under a deep debt of gratitude by his readiness to help them by way of explaining difficult points, lending mss. and encouragement. The book contains letters written by eminent scholars of the world on hearing of his death. The language of letters shows the deep sorrow felt by the writers for losing not only a personal friend but also a great help to the cause of research and scholarship.

The book contains 32 chapters in which the various aspects of the Ācārya's life and activities are touched. It is the second and enlarged edition of Vijaya Dharma Sūri, his life and work, 1922. Mr Sunvala, who happens to be a great admirer of the late Ācārya has done full justice to his subject. In his charming language he has put before us not only the life and work of the great monk but has also touched the central problems of Jainism. The book contains 3 illustrations (one coloured) and is very well printed. Unfortunately the text of the Sanskrit verses on p. 71 (from the address of the late Dr. Satisa Chandra Vidyabhushan) is hopelessly corrupt.

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